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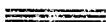
# *The Journal of Southern History*

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*Published Quarterly by*  
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at 216 Main Street, Baton Rouge, Louisiana



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# One Hundred Years of Reconstruction of the South

BY A. B. MOORE

The South has long been, and to some extent still is, in the throes of being reconstructed by forces operating from outside the region. Ramifications of this reconstruction process account in large degree for certain conditions in the South today and for its place in the nation. They explain how the South has acquired a colonial status, not only in the economic system but also in the psychology, sentiment, culture, and politics of the nation.

While this address<sup>1</sup> is concerned primarily with the reconstruction of the South after the Civil War, it takes cognizance of the fact that the reconstruction of the South by the North has been going on more than one hundred years. Prior to the Civil War it took the form of a savage attack upon slavery and southern society, though it had other connotations. The Northeast with its western extensions, possessed of what one writer has called "egocentric sectionalism"—that is, the conviction that it was not a section but the whole United States and that, therefore, its pattern of life must prevail throughout the country—, undertook after 1830 to reconstruct the South into conformity and into a subordinate position. With furious denunciations and menacing gestures and actions it drove the South into secession and war, destroyed its power, and reconstructed it with a vengeance and violence remarkable in the history of human conflict. This is not to give the South a clear bill of health; but whatever the rights and wrongs of the controversy, the

<sup>1</sup> This paper was prepared for presentation as the 1942 presidential address of the Southern Historical Association, but its delivery was prevented by the cancellation of the annual meeting.

Civil War, broadly speaking, was the tragic drama of a movement to reconstruct the South.

We have formed the habit of examining the phenomena of the reconstruction of the South after the Civil War—that is, the period 1865-1877—in a very objective, almost casual, way and with little regard to their essence and their significance in southern and national history. While avoiding the emotional approach one should not forget that it was, after all, a settlement imposed by the victors in war, and should be studied in all its effects, immediate and far reaching, on its victims. An investigation of the effects on the victors themselves would also be an interesting adventure. It is a chapter in the history of the punishment of the defeated in war. The observations of a competent historian from another country, coming upon the subject for the first time, taking nothing for granted and making a critical analysis of its severity compared with the punishment of losers in wars in general, would make interesting reading.

The war set the stage for a complete reconstruction of the South. Furious hatred, politics, economic considerations, and a curious conviction that God had joined a righteous North to use it as an instrument for the purging of the wicked South gave a keen edge to the old reconstruction urge. The victories of bullets and bayonets were followed by the equally victorious attack of tongues and pens. Ministers mounted their pulpits on Easter Sunday, the day following President Lincoln's tragic death, and assured their sad auditors that God's will had been done, that the President had been removed because his heart was too merciful to punish the South as God required. An eminent New York divine assured his audience that the vice-regent of Christ, the new president, Andrew Johnson, was mandated from on high "to hew the rebels in pieces before the Lord." "So let us say," with becoming piety and sweet submissiveness he enjoined, "God's will be done."<sup>2</sup> Whether the ministers thought, after they discovered that Johnson was opposed to a reign of terror, that the Lord had made a mistake is not a matter of record. As Professor Paul H. Buck has said, "It was in the churches

<sup>2</sup> Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (Boston, 1937), 12.

that one found the utmost intolerance, bitterness, and unforgiveness during the sad months that followed Appomattox."<sup>3</sup> Henry Ward Beecher, one of the more moderate northern preachers, thought the South was "rotten." "No timber," said he, "grown in its cursed soil is fit for the ribs of our ship of state or for our household homes." The newspapers spread abroad the preachers' gospel of righteous vindictiveness and expounded further the idea that drastic punishment of the South was essential for the security of the Union.

Many unfriendly writers invaded the South, found what they wanted, and wrote books, articles, and editorials that strengthened the conviction that the South must be torn to pieces and made anew. Books, journals, and newspapers stimulated the impulse to be vigilant and stern, to repress and purge. A juggernaut of propaganda, stemming from the various sources of public instruction, prepared the way for the crucifixion of the South. The South of slavery and treason, of continuous outrages against the Negroes and Northerners, of haughty spirit and stubborn conviction, and of superiority complex, must be humbled and made respectable or be annihilated, so that it could never become again a strong factor in national politics.

The South did little or nothing to neutralize Radical northern propaganda. To be sure, a few journalists, like A. T. Bledsoe, complained about "the cunningly devised fables, and the vile calumnies, with which a partisan press and a Puritanical pulpit have flooded the North,"<sup>4</sup> but their vituperative responses to vituperative attacks did more harm than good. There was, in the very nature of things, little that the South could do to disabuse the Radical northern mind that was disposed to believe evil of it. There was simply no escape for Southerners from an awful scourge. Even more courage and fortitude than they had displayed on the battlefield would be required to endure what was in store for them.

As much as Reconstruction has been studied in this country it should not at this late hour be necessary to point out its severity, its permanent effects upon the South, and its influence upon various aspects of our

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, 57.

national history. Yet few have examined critically the harshness of it and its persistent and manifold effects. While crucifying the South, the dominant Radical group of the North, thanks to the blindness of hatred, believed it was being lenient. Because no lives were taken—but there are some things more agonizing than death—for the “crimes of treason and rebellion,” the North has prided itself on its magnanimity; and its historians have been strangely oblivious of property confiscations and mental tortures. It seemed to the late James Ford Rhodes “the mildest punishment ever inflicted after an unsuccessful Civil War.” But this was no ordinary civil war, if, indeed, it should be classed as a civil war. The thesis of leniency has oddly persisted. When the Germans protested to high heaven against the severity of the Versailles Treaty they had sympathizers in this country who compared the generosity of the North in its treatment of the South with the harshness of the Versailles Treaty. But the late Professor Carl Russell Fish of the University of Wisconsin, in his article on “The German Indemnity and the South,” discredited the theory of generosity on the part of the North. He showed that the South was punished more than Germany, though he touched upon only a few phases of the South’s burdens.<sup>5</sup>

Professor Buck in his delightful and highly informative book, *The Road to Reunion*, recognized Reconstruction as “disorder worse than war and oppression unequalled in American annals,” but made a serious error when he stated that “virtually no property” was confiscated.<sup>6</sup> He overlooked the confiscation of large quantities of cotton—estimated in the minority report of the Ku Klux Klan Committee at two million bales—then selling for a very high price and most of which belonged to private citizens. The abolition of slavery wiped out about two billion dollars of capital and reduced the value of real estate by at least that amount. This was confiscation of property and the repudiation of Confederate currency, the Confederate bonded debt, and the war debts of the states, all amounting to no less than three billion dollars, was con-

<sup>5</sup> See *American Historical Review* (New York, 1895- ), XXVI (1921), 489-90.

<sup>6</sup> Buck, *The Road to Reunion*, 25.



fiscation of property rights. As inevitable as much of this was, it represented a frightful confiscation of property.

The freeing of the slaves not only cost the South two billion dollars but it also forced upon that section an economic and social revolution. It subverted a mode of life almost as old as the South itself. The repudiation of its debts impoverished the South and destroyed its financial relationships. While the South lost its debts, it had to pay its full share of the northern debts which amounted to about four-fifths of the total northern war expenses. The money for this debt was spent in the North for its upbuilding. It paid also its share of the \$20,000,000 returned by the Federal treasury to the northern states for direct taxes collected from them during the war, and of extravagant pensions to Union soldiers. Professor James L. Sellers estimates that the South paid in these ways an indemnity of at least a billion dollars to the North.<sup>7</sup>

The South accepted the results of the war—the doom of slavery and the doctrine of secession—as inevitable and its leaders sought to restore their respective states as speedily as possible to their normal position in the Union. But despite its acceptance in good faith of the declared aims of the North, the South was forced through the gauntlet of two plans of Reconstruction. The people conformed in good faith to the requirements of President Johnson's plan, but Congress repudiated this plan and forced the South to begin *de novo* the process of Reconstruction. Pending its restoration, it was put under the heel of military authority, though there was no problem that exceeded the power of civil authority to handle. Objectively viewed, it is a singular fact that it took three years to restore the South to the Union. It is little short of amazing that for a dozen years after the war Federal troops were stationed in the South among an orderly people who had played a leading role in the building and guidance of the nation since colonial times, and who now sought nothing so much as peace and surcease from strife. For much of the period government was a hodgepodge of activities by the civil authorities, the army, and the Freedmen's Bureau, with the Presi-

<sup>7</sup> James L. Sellers, "The Economic Incidence of the Civil War in the South," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1914- ), XIV (1927), 190.

dent of the United States working through any or all of these agencies. Most of the serious problems of government were precipitated by outside influences and conspiracies.

The political enfranchisement of four million Negroes, from whose necks the yoke of slavery had just been lifted, is the most startling fact about Reconstruction, and a fact of tremendous impact in southern history. There is nothing in the history of democracy comparable to it. To give the Negroes the ballot and office—ranging from constable to governor—and the right to sit in state legislatures and in Congress, while depriving their former masters of their political rights and the South of its trained leadership, is one of the most astounding facts in the history of reconstruction after war. It was a stroke of fanatical vengeance and design. The basic purpose of this sort of political reconstruction was to vouchsafe for the North—while chastising the South—the future control of the nation through the Republican party. The South was never again to be allowed to regain the economic and political position which it had occupied in the nation prior to 1860.

Negro voting laid the basis for the Carpetbag regime. For eight years Radical northern leaders, backed by the Washington authorities and the army and aided by some native whites, pillaged and plundered and finished wrecking the South. Northern teachers who invaded the South to reconstruct its educational and social system, and northern preachers who came down to restore the unity of the churches by a reconstruction formula that required Southerners to bend the knee and confess their sins helped the politicians, the Freedmen's Bureau, and the Loyal League to undermine the Negroes' confidence in their white neighbors. The reconstruction policy of the churches did its part in stirring up both racial and sectional enmities. The *Nation* remarked, in 1879, the "Churches are doing their full share in causing permanent division."<sup>8</sup> Reconstruction affected the religious life of the country for fifty years and more after the Radicals were overthrown. The character of the Carpetbag-Scalawag-Negro governments was well stated by the New York *Herald* which said the South is "to be governed by blacks

<sup>8</sup> *Nation* (New York, 1865- ), XXVIII (1879), 398-99.

spurred on by worse than blacks. . . . This is the most abominable phase barbarism has assumed since the dawn of civilization. . . . It is not right to make slaves of white men even though they have been former masters of blacks. This is but a change in a system of bondage that is rendered the more odious and intolerable because it has been inaugurated in an enlightened instead of a dark and uncivilized age.”<sup>9</sup>

It would be safe to say that the people of the North never understood how the South suffered during the Radical regime. The Radicals who controlled most of the organs of public opinion were in no attitude of mind to listen to southern complaints, and most people were too busy with the pursuit of alluring business opportunities that unfolded before them to think much of what was going on down South. In some respects conditions in the South at the end of the Radical regime remind one of the plight of the Germans at the end of the Thirty Years War.

The South staggered out of the Reconstruction, which ended *officially* in 1877, embittered, impoverished, encumbered with debt, and discredited by Radical propaganda. It had won after many frightful years the right to govern itself again, but there were still white men who could not vote and for many years there was danger of the federal regulation of elections and a resurgence of Negro power in politics.

The tax load had been devastating. The lands of thousands upon thousands had been sold for taxes. Huge state and local debts, much of which was fraudulent, had been piled up. So many bonds, legal and illegal, had been sold that public credit was destroyed. The people stood, like the servant of Holy Writ, ten thousand talents in debt with not one farthing to pay. They had to solve the paradoxical problem of scaling down public debts—a bewildering compound of legal and illegal and far too large to be borne—while restoring public credit. Northern hands had imposed the debts and northern hands held the repudiated bonds. Repudiation became another source of misunderstanding between the sections and another basis for charges of “Southern outrages.”

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Walter L. Fleming, *The Sequel of Appomattox* (New Haven, 1919), 148.

Reconstruction profoundly and permanently affected the political life of the South. It gave the South the one party system. The white people rallied around the Democratic party standards to overthrow the Radical regime, and their continued co-operation was necessary to prevent the Negroes from acquiring again the balance of power in politics. The terrible record of the Republican party during the Radical regime was an insuperable obstacle to its future success in the South. Hostility toward this party promoted devotion to the Democratic party. The complete domination of the latter party not only invested southern politics with the disadvantages of the one party system, but proved to be costly to the South in national politics. The Democratic party has been out of power most of the time in national politics and the Republican party naturally has not felt under obligation to do much for the South when it has had control of the national government. Even when the Democratic party has been in power the South has not had its share of patronage and appropriations, or of consideration in the formulation of national policies. The inequitable distribution of federal relief funds between the states since 1930 is an illustration in point. Political expediency has been the controlling consideration and not gratitude for party loyalty, which calls to mind an old Virginian's definition of political gratitude. Political gratitude, he said, is a lively appreciation of favors yet to be received.

Radical Reconstruction corrupted southern politics, and the prejudice aroused against Negro participation in politics led ultimately to the disfranchisement of most of the Negroes. Political habits formed in counteracting Carpetbag machinations and the presence of Negro voters continued to influence politics. Fraudulent methods were employed to control the Negro votes and when factions appeared among the whites they employed against each other the chicanery and frauds which they had used against the Radicals.

Reconstruction contributed to the proscription of the South in national politics and to provincialism in southern politics. Southerners so feared a recrudescence of Reconstruction in some form or other that for a generation they generally shrank from active participation in na-

tional affairs. Their attitude, generally speaking, was that if the North would leave them alone it could direct national affairs. This begat provincialism and made the continued proscription of the South easier. Such a situation was not good for either the South or the North.

Race friction and prejudice were engendered by Reconstruction, which was an unfortunate thing for both races and especially for the Negroes. It caused greater discriminations against the Negroes in politics and education, and in other ways. The Negroes had been so pampered and led as to arouse false notions and hopes among them and to make them for many years lame factors in the rebuilding of the South. The Negro after Reconstruction, and in large degree because of it, continued and continues to be a source of division between the North and South. The North either could not or would not understand the necessity of race segregation, and the idea that the Negro must have a definite place in the scheme of life was obnoxious. Disfranchisement of the Negro, occasional race riots, and the sporadic mobbing of Negroes accused of heinous crimes gave rise to continued charges of "Southern outrages." Criticisms from the North, generally based upon a lack of understanding of the problem, seemed more a matter of censure than of true interest in the Negro. Thus, those who expected to see sectional strife over the status of the Negro disappear with the emancipation of the slaves were disillusioned.

The Negro has been the cause of more misunderstanding and conflict between the sections than all things else. The North freed the Negro from slavery but by repressing and exploiting the South it has contributed much to conditions that have deprived him of some of the opportunities that a free man should have. If southern whites have suffered the pangs and restraints of poverty, the lot of the Negro has inevitably been worse. The shackles upon the Negro's economic and cultural advancement have been formidable and deadening in their effects. Their inescapable lack of educational opportunities has been epitomized by the saying that the South has had the impossible task of educating two races out of the poverty of one.

In some respects the South has not pursued an enlightened policy

toward the Negro. In ways it has exploited him. In the struggle for existence the Negro too often has been overlooked. Prejudice, too, resulting to a large extent from Reconstruction experiences, has done its part. Southerners, determined that the political control of Negroes back in the old Reconstruction days shall not be repeated, and probably too apprehensive about the breaking down of social barriers between the two races, have been conservative and slow to see adjustments that need to be made and can be made for the good of both races. Northerners with little information, but sure of their superior understanding, have scolded and denounced after the fashion of the old abolitionists. They have protested and cast sweeping aspersions without making constructive suggestions or troubling themselves to procure information upon which such suggestions could be based. Occasional violence against Negroes by ignorant mobs and discriminations against the Negroes in the enforcement of laws have evoked brutal and indiscriminating attacks from the northern press that remind one of journalism in the old Reconstruction days. Needless to say, such criticisms have contributed nothing to the southern Negro's welfare or to national unity.

The growing political power of the Negro in the North is adding to the Negro problem in the South. Many northern politicians to gain the political support of the northern Negroes—and, eventually, those of the South—are now supporting radical Negro leaders in their demand for a sweeping change in the status of the Negro in the South. But efforts to subvert the social system of the South will lead to more friction between the North and South and to bitter racial antagonisms.

The impoverishment of the people by Reconstruction and the heavy debt load imposed by it were most serious impediments to progress. They hindered economic advancement and educational achievement. Vast hordes of children grew to maturity unable even to read and write. It is impossible to measure the cost to the South of illiteracy alone resulting from the War and Reconstruction. Conditions brought about by Reconstruction also caused a tremendous loss of manpower. They caused a large exodus of the white people of the South to divers parts, and

made the Negroes unfit to apply their productive powers. The loss of whites is well illustrated by Professor Walter L. Fleming's statement that Alabama lost more manpower in Reconstruction than it lost in the war.

The poverty attending Reconstruction laid the basis for the crop lien system and promoted sharecropping, and these more than all things else have hindered rural progress. Hundreds of thousands of both the landless and the landed had nothing with which to start life over and the only source of credit was cotton. Merchants, with the assistance of eastern creditors, advanced supplies to farmers upon condition that they would produce cotton in sufficient quantity to cover the advances made to them. The merchant charged whatever prices he chose to and protected himself by taking a lien upon the cotton produced. Under the system the great mass of farmers became essentially serfs. To throw off the shackles required more resources than most of them possessed.

Even at present a majority of southern tenant farmers depend for credit on their landlords, or on the "furnish merchants" for their supplies. The landlord, moreover, who stakes all on cotton or tobacco, is a bad credit risk. For this reason he pays interest rates as high as twenty per cent, and naturally his tenants pay more. It has been estimated that those who depend on the merchant for supplies pay as much as thirty per cent interest even on food and feed supplies. Credit unions and the Farm Security and Farm Credit Administrations have helped many of the farmers, but farm credit facilities are still sadly lacking in the South. Louis XIV's remark that "Credit supports agriculture, as the rope supports the hanged" has been abundantly verified in the South.

Thus, Reconstruction made a large contribution to the development of a slum-folk class in the rural South. The sharecropper-crop-lien farm economy of the South has produced a human erosion system more costly than soil erosion. In fact the two have gone hand in hand. These things always come to mind when in this day of national championships the South is referred to as the nation's "Economic Problem No. 1."

Reconstruction and its aftermath prevented the flow of population and money into the South. The 37,000,000 increase in population be-

tween 1870 and 1900 was largely in the North. The South's increase, except in Florida and Texas, was principally native and, as has been observed, it lost part of this increment. Northerners who moved and the millions of Europeans who came in either flocked to the industrial centers of the North or settled down on expansive fertile lands between Ohio and Kansas, made available by the Homestead Act. Most of the nation's capital and credit resources were put into railroad building and industrial and business pursuits north of the Mason and Dixon line. By 1890 the railroad pattern was laid and most of the roads had been built to feed the North. In every phase of economic activity the South was a bad risk compared with the North. Not the least of the things that kept men and money out of the South were its debt load and the stigma of debt repudiation. Northern newspapers and journals lambasted the South for the sin of repudiation and warned investors and emigrants to shun the South. In addition to other risks, they would find, the *Nation* said, that in the South the "Sense of good faith is benumbed, if not dead," and if they had anything to do with the South they would make themselves a part "of a community of swindlers." Even Henry Clews, who had conspired with the Carpetbag racketeers to sell shoddy Reconstruction bonds to gullible buyers in the North and Europe, railed out against the spectacle of "Southern robbery." The notion of southern depravity was long-lived.

Between 1865 and 1900 a new republic of tremendous wealth and productive power was forged and concurrently there was a great educational development and a general advance in culture throughout the North. The South was a mere appendage to the new nation advancing through these epochal transformations; Reconstruction had assigned it a colonial status in all its relations with the North. J. M. Cross of New York City, for example, wrote to John Letcher of Virginia on March 8, 1867, that "Northern civilization must go all the way over the South, which is only a question of time." Some of those who had wanted to make the northern way of life the national way lived to see their wish a *fait accompli*. The patterns of national life were forming and henceforth were to be formed in the North and na-



tional unity was to be achieved by the conformity of the South to these patterns. Northerners have made little or no distinction between the North and the nation. The idea has become deeply imbedded throughout the country. For example, Professor Buck unconsciously expresses this attitude when he says, "The small farm worked in countless ways to bring Southern life into closer harmony with the major trends in national life"<sup>10</sup>—that is, northern life. The same idea is carried in one of the chapter titles—"Nationalization of the South"—in Professor William B. Hesseltine's recent *History of the South*. When the South has failed to conform it has been stigmatized as backward, provincial, and sectional.

By 1900 the Old South was largely a thing of memory. Yearning for some of the good things of life, impulsive young men rejected antebellum traditions as inadequate to the needs of the new South which must be built. They sneered at "mummies," "mossbacks," and "Bourbons" who cherished the Old South. Others, just as avid about the future of business and industry, hoped to bring over into the New South of their dreams the best of the old and thus merge "two distinct civilizations" into a compound that some good day would surpass anything the North could show. They would leaven the lump of crass materialism with the leaven of graceful living. But to the older generation it seemed that those who were breaking loose from old moorings were bending "the knee to expediency" with little or no regard for principle.

By scraping together small savings the would-be industrialists proved the mineral wealth of the South and laid the foundations of mineral industries and of tobacco and cotton milling. Northern capitalists were given an urgent invitation to come down and exploit the bonanza of physical and human resources. Labor was docile and cheap and helpless. The shearing would be easy. Northern capital began to trickle down and ultimately it came in larger quantities after business men had plucked the tall grass of opportunity in other parts of the country. A union was formed between northern and southern men in the field of business that took the place of the former union in politics of the Car-

<sup>10</sup> Buck, *The Road to Reunion*, 149.

petbaggers and Scalawags. The business Carpetbaggers were received with bands and banquets and eloquent addresses of welcome. They found men ready to serve them as overseers, legal retainers, and lobbyists. If, as one writer has said, "the worst carpetbagger stayed at home," perhaps some of their representatives in the South have been among the worst Scalawags.

The urge became strong to acquire the attributes of the bounding North. Southerners lost faith in their own standards. To achieve high rating in the South, men must first win recognition in the North. Budding and bulging towns sought to become like the cities of the North with their smokestacks, skyscrapers, parks, and boulevards. The imitation of Yankee ways became the vogue. The inferiority complex of Southerners since Reconstruction, and to a great extent because of Reconstruction, is a cruel and potent fact in the history of the South. Not a few regretted that the grandeur of old southern life was being sacrificed but more, in the spirit of Scarlet O'Hara of "Gone with the Wind" fame, resolved that they would not longer deny themselves. Come what might, they would accumulate for themselves and make the South great by the northern formula. Some of the ablest and most ambitious could not wait for the New South to arrive; they pulled up stakes and moved North as near as possible to the springs of wealth and power. Thus an "all-out" reconstruction of southern life was under way. The North was the nation and the South strove hopefully for a while to become a potent part of it.

But the prophets of a new day and of a new and better way for the South were extravagant. They did not see that the South was not free to integrate itself, with a chance to use all its natural advantages, into the national economic system. They thought only of nature's lavish gifts to the South in raw materials and natural resources. Southerners had but to resolve and plan and work to achieve a prosperity that would make the old plantation economy seem flabby by comparison and ultimately give the South primacy among the sections of the country. But they were victims of teasing illusions. They did not understand that its new economy would be a catch-as-catch-can economy. They did not

know—though more perspicacity might well have raised questions—that the powerful and entrenched interests of the North would give the South about the same place in the national economic system that the Negro occupied in the South. In their wishful thinking they overlooked the privilege cornucopia that pended over the North and was certain to hold the South in economic bondage.

Special privileges at the hands of the national government have conferred blessings and billions on the North at the expense of other sections. Tariffs have protected it on coast and frontier and freight rate discriminations have shielded it from the competition of southern manufactures.

Tariff alone has added billions of dollars to northern coffers at the expense of the South and West. One shrewd New Englander remarked that the tariff of 1828 would "keep the South and West in debt to New England the next hundred years." Evidently he understood the significance of protection for industry, but he did not foresee the enormous tribute that even higher tariffs of more recent times would extract from the other sections for the North. High tariffs have not only taken a heavy money toll from the South for northern industries, but by curtailing imports they have hindered the sale of southern cotton, tobacco, and other farm products in foreign markets. Trade restraints have hurt the farm-staple producing South more than any other region of the country.

Pensions for war veterans between 1862 and 1936 turned loose nearly seven billion dollars more in the North, while the South and West received together only about one billion dollars of pension money. Southerners helped to pay Civil War pensions to all those who had helped, or said they had helped, to save the Union; but in the very nature of things few Southerners could qualify for this particular government subsidy. Union veterans were also allowed to count the time of their service toward the five-year period required for "proving up" on a homestead. War pensions not only released a vast deal of purchasing power in the North, but they helped small manufacturing establishments to make a start. One historian has remarked that there were

"pensions in the industrial woodpiles of the North in the period between 1865 and 1890."<sup>11</sup>

The patent subsidy has been another source of great wealth to the North. It has been estimated that at least ninety per cent of "the effective money-producing patents are owned in the North." Professor Walter P. Webb has shrewdly remarked that "the government has conferred upon the North a subsidy for business, an annual bonus for patriotism, and a monopoly for ingenuity."<sup>12</sup> The privilege triumvirate of tariff, pensions, and patents—all gifts by a northern controlled government—have added enormous wealth and power to the North at the expense of the South and West. The loss of political power by the South, resulting from the Civil War and Reconstruction, has made possible this momentous fact in intersectional relations. While the South in many ways has suffered most, the political and economic hegemony of the North has also been very costly to the West.

The scarcity of capital and credit resources has forced the South to look to the North to finance practically all of its large industries and many of its small ones. The result of this is not far to seek. The institutions that supply capital for southern industries have been first concerned with protecting their larger investments in northern railroads and industries. They have used their power to preserve the established economic relations between the North and South.

There have been many other differentials against the South which can be traced back to Reconstruction. One of the most serious impediments to the development of southern industry has been freight-rate discriminations against the South. Instead of a unified national freight-rate structure we have five regional freight-rate structures that have grown up in a topsy-turvy manner. The region east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac rivers has had the advantages of relatively low freight rates on manufactured and processed articles. In

<sup>11</sup> Walter P. Webb, *Divided We Stand; the Crisis of a Frontierless Democracy* (New York, 1937), 22.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

freight-rate literature this area is designated as "Official Territory," and in all other respects it is the hub of the United States.

First-class freight rates from Southern to Official Territory are considerably higher—much higher in some cases—mile for mile, than intraterritorial rates of the Official Territory. It has been estimated that the southern manufacturer shipping goods into this area is at a relative disadvantage of about thirty-nine per cent in freight charges. On the other hand, a shipper in Official Territory can move his goods down into Southern Territory at a cheaper rate than that paid by Southerners for shipping similar goods wholly within their own territory. Thus, while freight-rate differentials largely close to southern manufacturers and processors the markets of the greatest consuming territory of the country (about fifty-one per cent of the total population resides in the Official Territory region) they open southern markets to northern producers. In other words, they give northern manufacturers the advantages of a protective tariff against southern-made goods and deprive southern manufacturers to a great extent of their natural advantages of assembly and production costs in their own markets. Manufactured products and processed goods, and some raw materials, can be shipped from eastern Canada into Official Territory at a lower rate than that "available to shippers in Southern, Southwestern, and Western Trunk-line Territories."<sup>13</sup> The Pittsburgh Plus system, superseded since 1924 by the multiple basing point system, has been a serious obstacle to the southern steel industry.

Another differential against the development of the South has been the superior opportunities in the North for capable and ambitious young men. Of the southern-born men listed in the 1932-1933 edition of *Who's Who in America*, 37.1 per cent were at that time located in other sections. Thus the South has lost much of its finest business and professional talent. In recent years many able and finely trained young men have located in the South, but the inflow of Northerners has been small compared with the South's contribution of manpower to the North.

<sup>13</sup> *House Document*, 76 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 271, p. xiii.

As a result of these special privileges and differentials in favor of the North, most of which have been the fruits of Civil War and Reconstruction, it is probable that the South is relatively worse off today than it was forty years ago. The North owns approximately ninety per cent of the country's wealth and probably ninety-five per cent of its money. Only nine of the two hundred largest corporations in the country are located in the South and probably not more than five per cent of their stock is owned in the South. The public utilities in the South, the major railroad systems, the great electric company holding systems, insurance, the distribution of natural gas, oil, and gasoline, and the manufacturing industries are largely owned and controlled by outside interests. Much of its mineral wealth is shipped away in raw or semi-finished form and the higher wages paid for the conversion of this natural wealth into finished product are not available to southern wage earners. Likewise the large profits from the manufacture of such materials go to northern business concerns. When a Southerner buys the finished product he pays for all the wasteful cross-hauling involved in the system, as the cycle of zinc from the southern mine to the southern home well illustrates. The ore and the finished product "are separated by a long Northern detour, because absentee ownership and discriminatory freight rates make it cheaper to ship raw materials north for processing than to manufacture them at home."<sup>14</sup>

The present war will not alter appreciably the relative wealth of the two sections. It has contributed new industries to the South, but most of the large government contracts have been let to northern corporations. This has resulted from northern control of the government and because of the vastly superior production facilities of the North. The nation at war must use its resources wherever they may be. This is another example of the North succeeding because of previous advantages gained. "For whosoever hath to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance. . . ." Northern manufacturers and builders have followed war industries into the South and with their superior

<sup>14</sup> National Emergency Council, *Report on Economic Conditions of the South* (Washington, 1938), 55.

resources have snatched opportunities out of the hands of southern producers and builders.

The North also dominates the publishing business and other agencies of public instruction. This not only constitutes another differential against the South in the matter of accumulating wealth, but of more importance is the fact that it gives the North a tremendous advantage in the shaping of public opinion. Most of the books we buy and the national magazines and newspapers we read are published in the North, especially the Northeast. The news-gathering agencies and the national radio systems are centered there. Worse still, many of the large dailies of the South are owned by northern men and the syndicated columns of southern newspapers are written by northern columnists. The radio commentators on the national radio systems live in the North. The fact that some of the columnists and commentators are southern born does not alter the situation appreciably. Naturally they tend to "slant" their presentations to the northern public that supports them. Southern radios and southern newspapers carry the northern voice. Men who have little or no knowledge or sympathetic understanding of the South are attempting to interpret the South and to instruct it on national questions from the northern viewpoint. Even southern speech is being "reconstructed" by them. The situation "does not tend, as some think," says Peter Molyneux, "to curb local provincialism. On the contrary, it tends to make Eastern provincialism national."

The manufacturers and distributors of the North and various adjunct agencies are bleeding the South white. The same thing may be said of a very large part of southern industries, owned as has been observed, in the North and operated by local overseers. To a great extent the region is controlled by the absentee owners through their overseers and retainer agents. These agents are the symbols of success in the South and the paragons of social life. Their mansions stand on a thousand hills. It is good to wine and dine with these genial, if patronizing viceroys. The absentee overlords retain the best legal talent to help them with their battles in the courts and the legislatures. Other types of influential persons, good public relations men and lobbyists, are also

retained. Some of their retainers are always members of the legislatures. By selling some stock locally they raise up other friends and defenders.

Small wonder, then, that the corporations have exercised a large influence over law-making in the southern states. Too often they have been able to defeat measures objectionable to them—especially tax measures—and to promote those favorable to them. Too often they have not been willing to pay their fair part of the cost of public services or a fair wage to their employees. Such industries are of questionable value to a community. The South has advertised its cheap labor and industrialists from the North have tried to keep it so. There are other differentials against the South, already noted, that have also been a factor in the lower wage scales of southern industry.

The absentee masters of southern industry and the chain store magnates are interested in profits and not in the welfare of the South. This is natural, but it illustrates a fundamental weakness in an industrial system based on outside capital. It would seem that those who gather their wealth from the South might reasonably be expected to give some of their educational benefactions to higher education in the South. But their gifts have generally gone to northern institutions that are already rich compared with those in the South. Their contributions to cultural development, whether in the form of gifts or taxes, go largely to the North.

The North has not only held the South in colonial bondage, but it has been very critical of the South, even for conditions that inhere in such an economic status. This has led Jonathan Daniels to say that after the Romans destroyed Carthage "Cato did not ride through Carthage on the train and blame its condition on the Carthaginians." It is doubtful if the British ever had a more superior and intolerant attitude toward the American colonists. The "Southern outrages" complex, fomented by Radical politicians in the old Reconstruction days, has persisted. Incidents that have escaped editorial eyes if they happened in the North have been denounced as outrages if they occurred in the South. A public lynching in a well known western state a few years ago did not evoke nearly as much condemnation as does the lynching of a



Negro by a clandestine mob in the South. The people of the North are not denounced as being crude and barbarous because of the persistent activities of murderous bands of racketeers in large northern cities.

Strange notions have developed about the South. It is taken for granted that Southerners are a slow and lazy people. The Abolitionists and Radical Reconstructionists conveyed the impression—and fiction has augmented it—that plantation whites lived in idleness and ease while black hands did labor and chores for them. The white women of the South are still thought to be lazy, pampered, helpless, spoiled creatures. All this comes out in fiction, shows, movies, and in street corner and parlor conversations. A conventionalized Southerner has evolved. He is tall, lanky, lazy, slow—except with the trigger finger—speaks with a drawl, says “you all” even to one person, and possesses a sort of insolent dignity.

The South is regarded as a backward, ignorant, hot-tempered, and violent section, especially in its dealing with Negroes. Extravagant fictional treatments of the extremes of southern life are quite generally accepted as accurate cross-section views of the South. In one of the most violent scenes of “Tobacco Road,” being played in a New York theater, an intelligent looking woman remarked to her companion: “That’s just like the South.” Asked what part of the South she was from, she squirmed in her seat and soon left the theater. *Mud on the Stars*, a lurid and patently preposterous story about life in Alabama, was well received by New York critics. One reviewer said that it is from such men as the author of this filthy story, who incidentally is a self-confessed rake, that we must look for information about the real South. When *Stars Fell on Alabama*, a grotesque portrayal of life in Alabama, appeared, it was widely acclaimed in the North, but when the same author wrote a similar book—*Genesee Fever*—about a certain community in New York State the reviewers and commentators of New York were quick to point out that it represented a purely local and extreme situation in the state, and that it contained extravagant overtones and distortions for the purpose of literary effect.

The South has been called the Prohibition Belt, the Bible Belt (meaning a place with a fanatical zeal for fundamentalism to be expected of an ignorant and superstitious people), the Hot Biscuit Belt, the Sahara of the Bozart, and any other smart appellations that may have occurred to its sharp-shooting critics. Southerners are not inclined to apologize for their religion or their hot biscuits, but they realize that an effort has been made to slur their spirituality and their diet. Paradoxically, the South has been publicized for both its prohibition proclivities and its exquisite mint juleps and raw, hair-raising corn liquor. In this situation there should be a warning to all critics of the South. It is not a simple, uniform whole in any sense. Its life is quite as variegated and contradictory as human life and society elsewhere.

Southern politics has been the subject of trenchant criticism by Republican newspapermen and journalists of the North. The "solid South" has been held up to ridicule and scorn, though many northern states until very recently have just as regularly supported the Republican ticket in national elections—some in state elections—as has the South the Democratic ticket. Southerners are supposed to have a preference for demagogues and to enjoy political ranting. They have not had, however, a monopoly of ranting in politics, though they have had much to rant about. For the past fifty years the South has had more than its share of demagogues of a kind. And there are several kinds of demagogues. The South's demagogues have frequently been the "rabble-rousing" kind. It may well be doubted, however, whether this type of demagogue has done more harm than the refined, suave, cunning, respectable kind who has been a tool of entrenched privilege and greed. Poverty and oppression have made the masses in the South susceptible to demagogic appeals. It has taken betimes a little of what Mrs. Mary E. Lease of Populist days called hell-raising to dislodge the Bourbons who generally have represented their own class interests and the interests of business (the "new mastery"). From this irresponsible coalition the people have turned occasionally for relief to the so-called demagogues. It may be that some day the impartial student of southern his-

tory will give some of the demagogues a large place in the progress of the South.

The South has adhered to the Democratic party in national politics to its own hurt. Just now, however, a rebellion is developing against the New Deal leadership of the party. There are northern Democratic leaders today who are as indifferent to the South as were many of them in the days when Calhoun and Yancey spoke dire warnings. Indeed, they are apparently about as little interested in the South's welfare as were the Radical Republicans of Reconstruction times. They would for Negro votes, if for no other reason, reconstruct the social order of the South. Governor Frank M. Dixon of Alabama, in a recent address before the Southern Society of New York, warned the Democrats of the North that the South puts its social system above loyalty to the party. If New Deal Democrats in the North help the South to overcome the habit of unswerving fidelity to the Democratic party they will unwittingly make a fine contribution to the South's well-being.

The South's poverty and shortcomings have been so constantly exposed to public view by pen, pictures, and theatricals that it has become as sensitive as a child whose faults are discussed with neighbors in its presence. It has been surveyed by the specialists—educational, social, political and economic—until it feels like a patient in a charity hospital who is probed and discussed daily by the hospital staff in the presence of curious visiting doctors and interns. No section of the country has been discussed nearly so much as the South. It has been easy copy for the journalists, a fertile field for the social scientists, and positively alluring to the fictionists. Whatever one's emotional reaction to the South, its appeal has been irresistible. It has been a veritable Thebes, but fortunately it has not killed all those who failed to explain its riddles. Since the days of Frederick Law Olmsted legions of unfriendly writers have swooped down out of the North, investigated for a few weeks, maybe only days, found what they expected and wanted and then entertained their reading public back home with racy accounts that perverted perspective.

A throng of literary Scalawags has sprung up in the South and has outdone most of the literary Carpetbaggers in slandering the South and distorting true perspective. The object has been to write something that the northern press would publish and to win recognition as writers—bold, fearless and *realistic* critics of their own South. Actually, what most of them have written is worthless—worse than worthless—as a means of understanding the South. They have known that there is a market in the North for the sort of stuff they have written about the South, much of it lecherous and filthy, and they have exploited the market. For a mess of lucre and laudation they have been willing to bring disrepute upon the South that nurtured them. These Scalawags compare sadly with most of the Scalawags of the old Reconstruction days.

The manifold needs of the South to achieve parity of opportunity with the North and a position of equality in the nation should be a matter of concern not only to the South, but also to the entire nation. The treatment that the South has had since 1865—much of it the result of indifference and unconscious prejudice and avarice, rather than of malice aforethought—is extraordinary in a country that makes any pretense to true nationality and to democracy.

The South of today, the product of forces set out in this paper, gives the nation an economic and political unbalance. With its immense wealth of capital resources and its manifold economic problems and potentialities, what it can give to the nation and what it could consume, were it generally prosperous, are things of prime concern to the whole nation. It does not need alms; it cannot subsist on the crumbs that fall from the sumptuous northern business table which it has helped to provide. It does not need reconstruction to conform to any particular mold; it does not need the nostrums of professional social uplifters who know nothing of southern traditions and mores and who have what Roscoe Conkling called the "man-milliner" complex. It is tired of Carpetbaggers and Scalawags in politics, education, up-lift work, and literature. It will not want to give up its individuality and become a part of a monotonous whole. It will not be willing to barter its birth-

right for a mess of pottage. It may, as Jonathan Daniels has said, even "prefer a sloppy South to a South planned in perfection by outlanders." What it needs is to be given parity of opportunity and to be treated as a full-fledged part of the nation. It must be emancipated from a labyrinth of adverse and deadening differentials. Another abolition movement is needed, this time to free both Negroes and whites in the South from the yoke of economic oppression.

The welfare of the 37,000,000 people of the South is a matter of great national importance. The white people are in the main descended from old American stock and are steeped in American traditions. In this important sense the South is the most American part of America. About 97.6 per cent (71 per cent white) of the people are native born. Their present lot, by and large, contrasts sadly with the dreams of their forbears who helped to launch the nation on the wings of hope and high promise. The very poor whites, underfed, underprivileged, without incentive, and inured if not reconciled to a wretched existence, have seemed to many critics a worthless lot. But they are not, as many have supposed, biologically degenerate. Nor is the Negro a hopeless creature. Wherever the poor whites of the South have had a chance they have shown themselves to be capable of doing the highest type of work. These whites and the blacks can profit by training; they may continue to be a liability or they may contribute something to the nation's progress.

The South is the chief population replenishing area of the United States. "It is the land of children." Many of these children do not have a decent chance in life. Adequate food, clothing, health protection, and training for them are essential to the successful functioning of our democracy. With only one-sixth of the nation's school revenues, the South must educate one-third of the nation's children. The task is even worse than these facts indicate, because the South maintains separate schools for its white and colored children. Southerners are not indifferent to their educational problems. The southern states devote a larger share of their tax income to schools than do some of the northern

states, and their taxes in proportion to the ability of the people to pay are relatively higher.

In the language of the National Emergency Council: "The South, in fact, has been caught in a vise that has kept it from moving along with the main stream of American economic life. . . . Penalized for being rural, and handicapped in its efforts to industrialize, the economic life of the Southern people does not provide an adequate market for its own industries nor an attractive market for those of the rest of the country."

The national government has been little influenced by southern conditions, interests, and viewpoints, in either its legislative or its administrative policies. Many examples could be given. Recent labor policies well illustrate. Southern conditions were of little consequence when Congress was legislating on the labor question. When John L. Lewis, with the approval of President Roosevelt, forced southern coal operators, regardless of the extra cost of mining coal in the South, to pay the same wage that northern miners were receiving, David Lawrence, the national columnist said: "The worst economic blow the South has received since the War Between the States has just been administered by the Roosevelt administration." It is a significant fact that although southern coal operators were made to pay the northern wage—a situation favorable to the northern operators, whether so intended—the WPA has paid a seventeen per cent higher wage to northern workers than to southern workers. Incidentally, this is an example of a differential against the South set up by the deliberate action of a national administration.

In this narrative of the South's plight it should be stated that Southerners have not always made the best of their opportunities. They have not always been enterprising and resourceful. They have too often excused themselves for not doing more because of abject poverty visited upon them by the Civil War and Reconstruction. They have too long lived in an atmosphere of despair; though there has been much to depress their spirits. They have suffered from the habit of acquiescing in a do-without economy. They have been the victims of both their own

inferiority complex and the superiority complex of the North. Northerners have assumed their superiority because of their superior achievements in material things, and because wealth and cultural facilities are centered in their section. They have not made a critical self-analysis to see how it has all come about and what the South has contributed. They have not been timid about asserting their superiority or pushing themselves into positions of leadership. When large technical and business engineering projects are sponsored in the South by corporations or the federal government northern men generally are employed, though southern men just as well fitted may be available. Southerners have lacked boldness and aggressiveness. They have given outside capital more advantages than were necessary to procure it.

There are optimists in the South who believe that the South, the stone rejected by the builders since 1865, is destined to become the "head of the corner" of the national edifice. Theirs is a dream. To be sure, there are some encouraging signs. There are dozens of things that tend to promote understanding and good will among the sections, and to produce a disposition to deal fairly with each other and to think on the national scale. Just now a very potent cementing influence is the fact that men and women from all sections are offering their all for the defense of a common heritage. The South is awakening. It is acquiring a much needed faith in itself and is beginning to rebel against the do-without economy. It is doing considerable introspection. Its scholars and business men are planning. As opportunities multiply, fewer of its talented youth will go North. Research has made available the materials needed for a planned economy for the region and for pooling its resources for an "all-out" attack upon its problems. There are growing signs, too, that the South may in the not-too-distant future place its own interests above party loyalty, that it will not submit to continued discriminations even at the hands of the Democratic party. It is learning, if slowly, that it is not necessary to pamper capital in order to attract it. All this augurs well. The South's destiny is in many respects in its own hands. There is some hope if it will commit itself to intelligent and courageous leadership.

The task, however, of rejuvenating the South and lifting it to a place of dignity and equality in the nation is herculean. It cannot be done wholly by the South. There will have to be a change of attitude and a change of perspective on the part of the North. Northern interests will have to give up those advantages and privileges on which they have battered. But discriminations against the South are deeply imbedded in the economic system of the nation. To give the South a chance by obliterating these discriminations would be shocking to the North that has grown rich on advantage. It would extract many eyeteeth and precipitate serious problems of adjustment. The North will oppose with all its might, and it has the might and votes to protect itself. The argument that the North and the entire nation would gain much from a prosperous South, not to mention the matter of justice to the South as a part of the nation, will probably not suffice, for men do not readily give up immediate advantages for opportunities that may evolve in the distant future.

What can be done about outside ownership of most of the great capital resources and large industries of the South? How are more than half of the farmers, who own no land, to procure lands now in the hands of northern insurance companies and other corporations, or in the bloated estates of wealthy individuals? What is to be done about the large and growing ownership of the distribution business in the South by northern corporations?

Ninety-three years ago John C. Calhoun died while leading the South in a bitter fight for its rights. When told by Robert Barnwell Rhett that the South needed him more than ever before in Washington, he remarked, with tears in his eyes: "There, indeed, is my only regret at going,—the South,—the poor South." The South's position in the nation today is in some important respects worse than it was in 1850. Were Calhoun living he could still say with the same solicitude, "the south, the poor South."



# The South and Problems of Post-Civil War Finance

BY GEORGE L. ANDERSON

The position of the South in the Union at the close of the Civil War was unique. In no field of human activity is this fact more dramatically illustrated than in its position with respect to the banking and currency system of the country. The collapse of the movement for southern independence involved the failure of every bank of issue and stamped every dollar of the circulating medium of the Confederacy as worthless. Banking enterprises had to be rebuilt from the foundation. The vacuum with respect to the circulating medium had to be filled. The stigma of "rebel" and the feeling of frustration would have been sufficient handicaps to recovery. If more were needed the reconstruction program of the Radical party would have supplied it. But to all of this was added the burden of paying the pre-war debts, public as well as private, without the means with which to pay them;<sup>1</sup> of paying a war indemnity to the federal government in the form of taxes and penalties without possessing a share in the advantages of that government; of reviving trade and commerce without the ordinary facilities upon which such processes depend; of beginning anew the production of staple crops without the means with which to pay labor or purchase supplies and

<sup>1</sup> The Alexander Strong Letter Books in the Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, contain a great deal of information on the collection of debts in the South by mercantile firms of the North. S. K. Backenstose wrote to Alexander Strong on December 27, 1867, that the Texas claims were the best, Arkansas claims among the best, and Mississippi claims the worst. A. V. Rutland, of Nashville, wrote to Strong, July 26, 1866, offering to settle his claims at twenty-five cents on the dollar. A member of the firm of Sumner and Kirkpatrick, also of Nashville, wrote on July 25, 1867, that he had settled other claims for fifty cents on the dollar.

seed;<sup>2</sup> and of absorbing four million freedmen into a system of free labor and a wage scale without the money with which to pay wages.<sup>3</sup>

These positive obstacles to the revival of the economic life of the South were almost insuperable, but they do not tell the whole story. The channels through which the solutions of these problems had to come were either completely closed or seriously clogged. While the South was struggling for its independence the federal government had established a new banking system and abolished an old one. It is true that a share in the new national banking system was set aside for the South,<sup>4</sup> but it is also true that the men in charge of the granting of national bank charters and the assignment of national bank circulation had permitted the capitalists of New England to absorb the share of the South in addition to their own.<sup>5</sup> When it came time for southern leaders to claim their privilege of organizing national banks and issuing circulating notes they were told that the authorized circulation was exhausted and that no more national bank charters were available. The South, together with the West, was denied its proportionate share in the new banking system, which became sectional rather than national in character.

The state banks of issue occupy a prominent place in the wreckage of state institutions that resulted from the Civil War.<sup>6</sup> Partly in re-

<sup>2</sup> William G. Eliot wrote to Senator John Sherman from New Orleans, February 25, 1867, advocating government loans to planters. Sherman Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress), CXXV. On February 10, 1868, the Georgia constitutional convention petitioned Congress for a direct loan from the federal government of \$30,000,000 to the cotton planters of the South. *Congressional Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 1085 (February 10, 1868).

<sup>3</sup> *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* (New York, 1839-1870), LXI (1869), 363-64; George Walker, "The Currency and the National Banks," in *International Review* (New York, 1874-1883), VI (1879), 250-51.

<sup>4</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 1 Sess., 302 (March 26, 1869). Of the authorized national bank circulation of \$300,000,000, approximately \$80,000,000 was allocated to the southern states.

<sup>5</sup> By October, 1869, the South had actually received slightly more than one-eighth of its share, or about \$10,000,000. On the other hand, the six New England states, with an apportionment of \$45,000,000, had actually secured \$104,500,000. Massachusetts alone had five times as much national bank circulation as the entire South. Bridgeport, Connecticut, had more than the states of Texas, Alabama, and North and South Carolina combined. The per capita figure for Rhode Island was \$77.16; for Arkansas, .13c.

<sup>6</sup> An interpretative discussion of the loss of control over domestic institutions by the states as a result of the Civil War is contained in an article by Homer C. Hockett, "Little

sponse to that war and partly in response to the demands of business organizations that were overflowing state lines there developed a group of influences in favor of a nation free from all barriers to the exploitation of natural resources on a nation-wide scale. The emphasis upon the war and reconstruction has obscured the developments that undermined and in some cases totally destroyed the domestic institutions of the states. The state banks of issue were valiantly defended in Congress by a large group of men who were interested in the preservation of state institutions. These men did not defend slavery nor attempt to hinder the prosecution of the war, but they were nevertheless stigmatized as disloyal and their cause was condemned simply because they tried to maintain a system of state institutions in opposition to a national one.<sup>7</sup>

There is no question that either stringent regulation or the destruction of the state banks of issue was necessary before national control over banking and currency could be established and specie payments resumed. It was the policy of the financial leaders of the North to nationalize banking in the interests of business and industry. If it be true that the resumption of specie payments was the great financial desideratum in the United States in the period immediately following the war, it is equally true that the ten per cent tax on the notes of state banks was the first step in that direction. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that as long as the state banks of issue remained as potential sources of an ever-increasing supply of paper money the healthy reduction in the volume of paper currency and the resumption of specie payments could not be accomplished.<sup>8</sup> This nationalizing policy imposed tremendous handicaps upon the South because it eliminated the state banks of issue as possible channels of relief and at the same time

Essays on the Police Power," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1914- ), XVII (1930), 19-21.

<sup>7</sup> Pottsville (Pa.) *Miner's Journal*, February 15, 1868, in Broadside Collection, Vol. 236, Library of Congress.

<sup>8</sup> Report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1867, in *House Executive Documents*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 2, xv-xvi; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* (New York, 1865- ), IV (1867), 710. Henry D. Cooke to John Sherman, August 8, 1867, Sherman Papers, CXXII; Chicago *Tribune*, January 11, February 18, 28, March 12, 1865.

barred the South from participation in the benefits of the national system. It is clear that the different sections of the country were not to receive equal shares in the blessings of nationalization.<sup>9</sup>

There is some doubt concerning the supply of circulating currency in the South at the close of the war, but the preponderance of evidence supports the conclusion that there was a great scarcity of it.<sup>10</sup> The letters of southern people and those of southern representatives of northern newspapers and business firms contain accounts of land selling for a few dollars an acre;<sup>11</sup> of communities relying upon the change notes of railroad companies for circulation;<sup>12</sup> of the issuance of scrip and shimplasters by corporations, cities, counties, and even states;<sup>13</sup> of a town so poor in circulation that change sufficient to break a five dollar bill could not be obtained in the entire town;<sup>14</sup> and of barter taking the place of transfer by sale.<sup>15</sup>

The serious need for banks is emphasized in a great variety of sources.<sup>16</sup> The most important function that they could have performed in addition to issuing circulating notes was the provision of a means whereby outside capital could flow in and be distributed not only to the large plantation owner and the city merchant, but also to the obscure farmer who tilled a small tract and the merchant in the small

<sup>9</sup> Senator Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, pointed out that the ten per cent tax on state bank notes when paid out had eliminated \$20,000,000 of state bank circulation in Kentucky, every dollar of it convertible into specie, and had substituted a meager \$2,000,000 of national bank notes. *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 3185 (June 16, 1868).

<sup>10</sup> For statements to the effect that there was an adequate amount of currency in the South, see W. Ware Peck to Alex Strong and Company, July 1, 1865, in Strong Letter Book; Memphis *Appeal*, quoted in Chicago *Tribune*, November 14, 1865; *Nation* (New York, 1865- ), I (1865), 699. For statements of the contrary view, see New York *Herald*, July 2, 26, September 4, 1865; *Nation*, I, 77, 175; *Harper's Weekly* (New York, 1857-1916), X (1866), 626-27.

<sup>11</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, X, 627; New York *Tribune*, September 7, 1867.

<sup>12</sup> New York *Herald*, July 6, 1865.

<sup>13</sup> Report of the Comptroller of the Currency for 1872, in *House Executive Documents*, 42 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 3, xxxii-iii; *ibid.*, 1873, in *House Executive Documents*, 43 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 3, xlv-v; Macon (Ga.) *American Union*, August 18, 1870.

<sup>14</sup> Correspondent writing from Raleigh, North Carolina, in *Nation*, I, 492.

<sup>15</sup> C. Mildred Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia: Economic, Social, Political, 1865-1872* (New York, 1915), 111; New York *Herald*, September 4, 1865.

<sup>16</sup> Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia*, 99; Robert Somers, *The Southern States Since the War* (New York, 1871), 79; New York *Herald*, July 17, September 4, 1865; Chicago *Tribune*, July 3, 1865.

town who supplied the ordinary necessities of life to his customers.<sup>17</sup> The South needed both cash and credit and obviously the latter could not be supplied by a banker in a remote New England village. The southern people wanted local banks managed by local men.<sup>18</sup> A union of northern capital and southern management would have been the ideal combination.<sup>19</sup> Several factors intervened to prevent this form of relief from materializing: the struggle over reconstruction; the reluctance of capital to migrate to regions where law enforcement was not of the highest order;<sup>20</sup> usury law;<sup>21</sup> lack of confidence in the economic future of the South; the ten per cent tax upon the issues of state banks;<sup>22</sup> the provision in the amnesty proclamation that barred men of wealth from pardon;<sup>23</sup> but most important of all, the reservoir of national bank circulation had been emptied by alert and enterprising men who lived in the New England states.<sup>24</sup> The South was not permitted to enjoy the banking facilities which would have done so much to aid the recovery of business and the revival of commerce. It has not been proven that this discrimination was a part of a premeditated program, but it cannot be doubted that the economic recovery of the South was retarded just as much by the financial legislation of the Radical party as political recovery was retarded by the political legislation of the same group. The relationships between the twin problems of reconstruction and resumption have never been fully explored, but it is safe to say that any attempt to discuss the latter without taking into account the former

<sup>17</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, X, 626-27.

<sup>18</sup> Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia*, 324; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, II (1866), 202; VI (1868), 70-71; *Harper's Weekly*, X, 626-27; Anonymous letter from Portsmouth, Ohio, to Senator John Sherman, November 11, 1867, Sherman Papers, CXXIII; William G. Eliot to Senator Sherman, February 25, 1867, *ibid.*, CXXV; Hugh McCulloch to the business men of Boston, May 11, 1867, McCulloch Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress), III; *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 613-14 (January 18, 1868); *ibid.*, 41 Cong., 1 Sess., 269 (March 29, 1869), 352-53 (March 30, 1869).

<sup>19</sup> *New York Herald*, September 4, 1865.

<sup>20</sup> *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, LIII (1865), 448; *Harper's Weekly*, X, 626-27, 787; *Chicago Tribune*, March 15, 1866.

<sup>21</sup> John T. Trowbridge, *The South* (Hartford, 1866), 235.

<sup>22</sup> J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (New York, 1906), 194.

<sup>23</sup> *Nation*, I, 175; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, LIII, 51-52, 135.

<sup>24</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, January 29, 1866.

would result in a distorted and incomplete picture. Healthy economic conditions throughout the entire United States was the first great prerequisite for resumption and it is certain that they could not be achieved by the South under the reconstruction program devised by the Radical party.

Almost a month before the war was over a prominent western newspaper asserted that a speedy return to specie payments was dependent upon a large production of cotton and an increased demand for goods in the South. A speedy peace and national banks to facilitate business transactions were regarded as essential features of such a program.<sup>25</sup> The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* was heartily in favor of a plan of reconstruction that would bring the South into normal commercial relations with the rest of the country at an early date. It approved the presidential plan of reconstruction and declared that the revival of trade and commerce would furnish a solution of the Negro problem.<sup>26</sup> The New York *Herald* was the most consistent advocate of the idea that the restoration of the South had to precede resumption. In November, 1865, it predicted editorially that ten years of preparation would be necessary before resumption could be accomplished. In discussing this point the writer said:

Meanwhile, we must witness the reconstruction of the South, the growth of southern crops, the consequent increase of our export trade . . . and a return flow of specie from Europe. That the political restoration of the South must precede any successful effort towards the resumption of specie payments, and that we must also reap some of the fruits of that restoration, is neither to be contradicted nor overlooked.<sup>27</sup>

The argument that the restoration of the South to a satisfactory political and economic condition would aid in the resumption of specie payments was based upon two principles, the soundness of which cannot be denied. Political restoration would hasten the day when the South would produce a larger quantity of cotton which, when ex-

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, March 27, 1865.

<sup>26</sup> *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, I (1865), 260, 367-68.

<sup>27</sup> New York *Herald*, November 28, 1865. The same viewpoint was expressed in *ibid.*, December 1, 3, 1865, March 11, 12, 13, 15, 26, April 20, 1866.

changed for gold in the markets of the world, would add to the gold supply of the nation; economic restoration would increase the area in which the paper money would circulate, draw off the redundant currency of the North and diffuse it among a larger group of people.<sup>28</sup> In essence this would have constituted a rapid and effective method of contracting the currency without the many alleged evils of direct contraction.<sup>29</sup> Hugh McCulloch, secretary of the treasury, favored some course which would provide the South with banking facilities. He regarded such a policy as indispensable to the economic revival of the South and as an essential step toward a sound and stable financial program for the entire nation. He considered that adequate banking facilities would stimulate the production of staple crops and give the southern people a pecuniary interest in the maintenance of the government.<sup>30</sup> In spite of these sound views Secretary McCulloch did not save the southern share in the national banking system by enforcing the apportionment law. If he had done so the paper money in circulation in the North would have been less by \$50,000,000, which was more than he was able to withdraw from circulation by the slow and painful method of direct contraction. In addition he would have been able to supply the southern need for banks without recourse to a hostile Congress.<sup>31</sup>

During the stormy struggle over reconstruction the idea that the South would aid in the resumption of specie payments fell into abey-

<sup>28</sup> *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, I, 385; *New York Herald*, February 19, 1866; *Chicago Tribune*, April 12, 1865; *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 609-14, 617-19 (January 18, 1868), 1730 (March 7, 1868). An analysis of this development and an estimate of the contribution of the South to the resumption of specie payments is contained in *Harper's Weekly*, XII (1866), 802.

<sup>29</sup> *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, I, 385, 556, regarded the drain of greenbacks to the South as a fortunate offset to the inflation of the currency by the new issues of national bank notes.

<sup>30</sup> *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 100, *passim*.

<sup>31</sup> Representative William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, criticized Secretary McCulloch very severely for asserting that the South needed currency and capital and advocating contraction in the same breath. *Cong. Globe*, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., 260 (January 3, 1867). Representative Sidney Clarke, of Kansas, expressed a similar view in the following words: "When the war ended the entire circulating medium of the rebels was blotted out of existence. Did we wisely endeavor to replace it? Not at all. On the contrary under the Sangrado System of Mr. McCulloch we have been most actively engaged in draining the loyal states of their currency and in refusing to give any to the South." *Ibid.*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 1730 (March 7, 1868).

ance, but the importance of southern products in the economic life of the nation was not forgotten. The people who were interested in industries that depended upon southern sources of raw materials or upon southern markets were opposed to the policy of reconstruction that kept the South in a constant state of turmoil and confusion.<sup>32</sup> It was maintained that the best method of reconstruction would consist of measures designed to develop the economic life of the South;<sup>33</sup> that one acre of southern soil redeemed for agriculture, one railroad put into operation, or one cotton mill set to work, would be worth a dozen reconstruction committees and six months of windy congressional debate;<sup>34</sup> that every dollar of greenback circulation which found its way south would be as potent in securing southern reconstruction as each bullet had been in ending the war;<sup>35</sup> that the extension of the national banking system to the South would be an essential aspect of southern restoration.<sup>36</sup> The depression that descended upon the country in 1867-1868 was attributed to the failure of Congress to settle the reconstruction question. The South did not pay its debts to the North; commerce was stagnant; misery and suffering followed. It is possible that the depression was due as much to the reconstruction policy of the Radical party as to the contraction policy of Secretary McCulloch which was made to bear the whole burden of responsibility.<sup>37</sup>

The process by which the South acquired and retained a circulating medium in spite of the reconstruction policy of the Radical party and the contraction policy of Secretary McCulloch is extremely interesting.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, I, 260. The importance of economic factors in bringing the congressional plan of reconstruction to an end has been examined in William B. Hesseltine, "Economic Factors in the Abandonment of Reconstruction," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXII (1936), 191-210.

<sup>33</sup> Manning F. Force to Senator John Sherman, August 15, 1867, Sherman Papers,

<sup>34</sup> *New York Herald*, January 6, 1866.

<sup>35</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 1730 (March 7, 1868).

<sup>36</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, November 30, 1865.

<sup>37</sup> The importance of the world-wide condition of affairs in contributing to the depression is stressed by David A. Wells in the Report of the Special Commissioner of the Internal Revenue, in *House Executive Documents*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 81, pp. 24-25.

<sup>38</sup> The material that follows and the viewpoint that is presented should be compared with the statement contained in Don Carlos Barrett, *The Greenbacks and the Resumption of Specie Payments, 1862-1879* (Cambridge, 1931), 105, that greenbacks did not circulate



The collapse of the Confederate currency and the resulting lack of faith in any type of paper money tended to create a feeling of distrust toward the greenbacks and national bank notes that trickled down from the North after the war.<sup>39</sup> In many places gold was demanded by those who had cotton to sell. On occasion they consented to take a price per pound in gold far below the ratio of greenbacks to gold rather than accept greenbacks.<sup>40</sup> As time went on and the greenbacks became more generally used in the South and the pressing need for some form of paper currency became greater they were accepted more and more willingly until in the end the southern people came to prefer them to gold.<sup>41</sup>

The greenbacks flowed into the South through the purchase of such stores of cotton and other products as had survived the war.<sup>42</sup> This process had begun even before the war was over.<sup>43</sup> The military occupation proved to be a blessing in disguise, for large amounts of greenbacks found their way into the interior when the soldiers received their pay.<sup>44</sup> A community considered itself fortunate if pay-day occurred while the army was in its midst because the soldiers spent freely for whatever the people had to sell.<sup>45</sup> Many discharged soldiers remained in the South and added their store of cash. Northern traders who thronged into the South at the close of the war brought greenbacks

in the South. It was estimated by a writer in the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XIII (1871), 621, that \$15,000,000 to \$20,000,000 in greenbacks were absorbed in the South each year after the war and that by 1871 the South had acquired an ample supply of circulating currency. The *Chicago Tribune*, April 12, 1865, estimated that \$100,000,000 in greenbacks would go South during the first year after the war.

<sup>39</sup> New York *Herald*, July 17, 1865; *Nation*, I, 77.

<sup>40</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, IX (1865), 466. The writer stated that the planters in South Carolina preferred ten cents a pound in gold to fifteen cents a pound in greenbacks. The gold that was received for the cotton by the southern people was hoarded. *Cincinnati Commercial*, August 14, 1865.

<sup>41</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, September 1, 1869; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XVII (1873), 688; *Harper's Weekly*, XVII (1873), 1059.

<sup>42</sup> Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia*, 99.

<sup>43</sup> Simeon Nash wrote to Senator John Sherman from Gallipolis, Ohio, December 13, 1864, that the southern people were hoarding greenbacks to meet the hour when their conquest would make their own currency valueless. Sherman Papers, LXXVI. The *Chicago Tribune*, March 8, 1865, quoted an article from the *Boston Journal*, which stated that four to five million in greenbacks had gone South.

<sup>44</sup> Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia*, 99; New York *Herald*, July 17, 1865.

<sup>45</sup> James A. Galbraith, Greeneville, Tennessee, to Colonel Robert Johnson, August 12, 1865, Andrew Johnson Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress), LXXIII.

with them.<sup>46</sup> The purchase of southern real estate and other property by northern people augmented the supply of circulating currency in the South. In these ways the South managed to acquire a medium of exchange, quite inadequate it is true, but a beginning was made on the long, slow process of accumulating cash and capital.

The southward flow of greenbacks and national bank notes<sup>47</sup> developed to such large proportions during the fall of 1865 and spring of 1866 that some financial observers feared that a stringency in the money markets of the northern commercial cities might result.<sup>48</sup> In the spring of 1866, while the contraction bill was under discussion, one of the arguments used against it was the fact that the drain of paper money to the South was producing a real contraction in the North.<sup>49</sup> The amount that went South and never returned to circulation in the northern states has not been accurately determined, but contemporary estimates placed it as high as \$100,000,000.<sup>50</sup> The sum must have been large if it excited apprehension that a stringency would be produced in the North in the face of the weekly issue of \$3,000,000 of national bank circulation.<sup>51</sup>

The drain of the currency to the South seems to have slackened during the summer and fall of 1866 and throughout 1867.<sup>52</sup> It is scarcely mentioned in the publications that had given it so much publicity during the preceding year. A number of explanations might be suggested for the cessation of the flow to the South. The products that had been held in reserve were gone. The crops in 1866 and 1867 were not good. The tax on cotton was a very discouraging factor. The scrapping of the presidential plan of reconstruction and the delay in inaugurating a

<sup>46</sup> *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, I, 12.

<sup>47</sup> The South preferred greenbacks to bank notes. Somers, *Southern States Since the War*, 210; *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 1 Sess., 269 (March 29, 1869).

<sup>48</sup> *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, I, 385, 556, 577, 619, 651, 705; *Harper's Weekly*, X, 146, 179.

<sup>49</sup> *New York Herald*, November 24, 1865; *Chicago Tribune*, March 8, 1866; G. W. M., of New York, to Senator John Sherman, December 30, 1867, Sherman Papers, CXXV.

<sup>50</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, X, 194. This estimate was for the ten preceding months.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, VII (1865), 466; *New York Herald*, November 15, 22, 24, 1865.

<sup>52</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, X, 562; *Chicago Tribune*, September 14, 1867.

substitute plan discouraged the flow of capital into the South.<sup>53</sup> Whatever the cause, a definite break occurred in the progress that the South was making toward economic recovery.

When the financial policy of the southern people began to attract attention again in the fall of 1868 certain important changes had taken place. Nature had come to the rescue and the largest cotton crop produced in years was ready to be marketed. The estimated value of the combined cotton and tobacco crops varied from \$250,000,000 to \$300,000,000.<sup>54</sup> The crop produced in 1869 was even larger, as the cotton crop alone was estimated at \$300,000,000.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, a new method of transacting business had been adopted in the South. Forced into political isolation by the reconstruction policy of the Radical party, the South adopted, or was forced to adopt, an isolationist policy in economic affairs. Severe economy in purchasing in northern markets became the rule.<sup>56</sup> Self-sufficiency in the production of foodstuffs through diversified agriculture reduced debts and operating costs.<sup>57</sup> A planned system of marketing brought the largest possible returns from the abundant crops.<sup>58</sup>

The effect of this new policy upon the money markets of the North can be traced in the financial columns of the newspapers and in those

<sup>53</sup> William E. Hill, Farson's Depot, North Carolina, wrote to Senator John Sherman on March 11, 1867, that the settlement of the reconstruction issue would revive business. Sherman Papers, CXVIII; *Chicago Tribune*, May 23, 1867; *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 617-19 (January 18, 1868). The prospects for a national bank at Charleston financed largely by foreign capital were cut off by the passage of the reconstruction act of March 2, 1867; *Banker's Magazine* (New York, 1846- ), XXII (1867), 74.

<sup>54</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, December 6, 1868, January 27, April 13, 1869.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, March 11, 1870; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, IX (1869), 814.

<sup>56</sup> *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, LXII (1870), 173-74, contains the best account of this development. In spite of the new policy the South bought more goods in September, 1868, than in any single month since 1861. *Ibid.*, LIX (1868), 314. For another statement to the effect that the South was buying sparingly in northern markets, see the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, IX, 204.

<sup>57</sup> *New York Tribune*, September 7, 1867; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, VII (1868), 421; *Harper's Weekly*, XIII (1869), 162, 643; *Chicago Tribune*, September 1, 1869.

<sup>58</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, XIII, 307, 524; *Chicago Tribune*, September 1, 1869. The latter called attention to the fact that the South was not in debt and therefore was not forced to sell its crop. So little cotton was sold that the mills in Lowell, Massachusetts, were forced to operate on a half-time basis. It was predicted that the South would absorb \$75,000,000 during the year 1869-1870.

of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*. The reaction of the West to the loss of a large market for its foodstuffs in the South upon which it had depended for compensation for the loss of war time markets was discussed in the *Chicago Tribune* and in the *Nation*.<sup>59</sup> The usual ebb and flow of currency so far as the New York money market is concerned was out, the efflux, from October to February, and back, the reflux, from April until the following October.<sup>60</sup> Throughout the winter of 1868-1869 the financial news was of the same general character as in previous years, the only difference being comments upon the extraordinarily large flow to the South.<sup>61</sup> When the period arrived which should have marked the beginning of the reflux, or flow back, and no reflux occurred, a great deal of attention was concentrated upon the new policy of the South.<sup>62</sup> As time elapsed and the flow back did not take place, but an outward flow continued, the phenomenon was labelled as a highly important reversal of form.<sup>63</sup> Spring came and passed, and summer came, but still the money did not flow back from the South to New York in the large amounts that had characterized these months in previous years.<sup>64</sup> A stringent money market during the summer months when the plethora of circulation in New York usually led to wild speculative flights was an unheard of thing.<sup>65</sup> The time for the shipment of money to the interior to finance the movement of the crops came and New York was short of money.<sup>66</sup> This was the moment seized by speculators to add artificial to natural stringency and Black Friday was the result.

<sup>59</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, September 1, 1869; *Nation*, VIII (1869), 269-70.

<sup>60</sup> *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, IV, 326.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII (1869), 204.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 236, 268.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 296.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 424, 460, 518, 581, 613. It was estimated, May 1, 1869, that between \$40,000,000 and \$50,000,000 had been absorbed permanently in the South. *Ibid.*, 549. See also, *Chicago Tribune*, April 9, 12, 13, 1869.

<sup>65</sup> *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, VIII, 781, 805; IX, 134; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, LXI, 75, 392-93.

<sup>66</sup> *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, IX, 167. It was asserted that New York was short of money and relied upon the large quantities already in the South to forestall a heavy demand. *Ibid.*, 261. In this connection a stringency in New York was announced and it was predicted that the South would repeat the absorption process of the previous year, which had amounted to \$30,000,000. These views were repeated in the issue for

Financial writers sought to explain the events of this unique year in financial history on the basis that the South was hoarding greenbacks.<sup>67</sup> The volume of greenbacks thus retained from circulation in the North was estimated at over \$50,000,000 for the year 1868-1869.<sup>68</sup> The explanation offered in this connection was that the new methods of crop production, which involved a large number of small units instead of a small number of large units, would favor the diffusion and hoarding of greenbacks.<sup>69</sup> A later estimate of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* placed the amount absorbed in the South during the two years 1868-1870 at \$50,000,000.<sup>70</sup>

The hoarding of greenbacks in the South was the only alternative to spending because there were no banks of deposit available to the great mass of small farmers.<sup>71</sup> Attention was focused upon a solution of this problem. Some way had to be devised to bring the money that went South to move the cotton crop back to New York where it could be used to finance speculation as well as legitimate business enterprises. Those who discussed the question asserted that if there were banks in the South the money would find its way back to New York through the medium of bank deposits.<sup>72</sup> If this line of reasoning is true to the facts then it is clear that the people in New England and New York had

September 1, 1869, p. 294. This issue contained the further information that the cry for expansion in order to offset contraction through absorption at the South had begun. The flow to the South is discussed in *ibid.*, IX, 325, 461, 556, 584, 620, 645, 653, 684, 711. On December 4, 1869, the *Chronicle* stated that \$5,000,000 had been sent South during November; two weeks later it called attention to the renewed demand for money at the South. *Ibid.*, 711, 788. Additional information is contained in *Harper's Weekly*, XIII, 515; and in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, LXI, 75, 392-93.

<sup>67</sup> *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, VIII, 139, 168, 781. The hoarding explanation was brought forward for the first time in the issue of March 6, 1869, and was repeated in the issue of April 10, 1869. *Ibid.*, 296, 453. See also *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, LX (1869), 236; *Nation*, VIII, 309-311. The financial writer of the *Chicago Tribune*, in the issue of March 24, 1869, asserted that a large amount of greenbacks had been absorbed in the South and that the South had become comparatively rich.

<sup>68</sup> *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, VIII, 581.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 774.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 805; X (1870), 517; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, LXI, 46, 169.

<sup>71</sup> *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, VIII, 296, 332; IX, 167, 390; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, LXI, 153.

<sup>72</sup> *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, LX, 236; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, VIII, 296.

over-reached themselves in denying national banks to the South. The privilege of issuing circulation was not very profitable if the notes did not pass frequently through the hands of the bankers. A circulating medium that went South and stayed there because the South sold more goods than it purchased in the North was not particularly profitable to the bankers of the North. If the South would not spend the returns from cotton production in the North some avenue for returning the profits to circulation in the North had to be provided. The logical solution was to enlarge the national banking system so that the South might have an opportunity to obtain national bank charters and circulation. This had been proposed in 1866 and had failed of adoption. It had been tried in 1868 with the same result. The spring of 1869 witnessed a third attempt, but it likewise resulted in failure. It was not until July, 1870, after two years of contraction through southern hoarding, that Congress finally provided for the extension of the national banking system to the southern states. The tidal current of greenbacks that flowed into New York City banks during the spring and summer of 1871 was attributed in part to the influence of the new national banks in the South. It was noticed in one journal that the increased flow of greenbacks to New York during this period was proportionate to the outward flow of national bank circulation to the South and West.<sup>73</sup>

The hoarding of greenbacks in the South caused the premium upon gold to decline and a new movement in favor of resumption began to develop.<sup>74</sup> The *Chicago Tribune* thought that the South was so well supplied with gold in 1870 that a simple law legalizing gold contracts would bring about resumption.<sup>75</sup> It advocated legislation that would make it possible for the South to establish national banks on a specie basis and felt that such a policy would ultimately force the whole

<sup>73</sup> *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XIII, 133.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 826; *Augusta Chronicle*, quoted in the *Macon American Union*, March 25, 1870; *Rushville (Ill.) Times*, April 2, 1870.

<sup>75</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, December 6, 1868, January 27, August 19, November 10, 11, 1869. See also *Harper's Weekly*, XIII, 195. Several merchants in Macon, Georgia, used specie in making change for one dollar. A firm in Atlanta was on a full specie basis. *Macon American Union*, March 11, 1870. A week later this paper announced that greenbacks were at par with gold so far as subscriptions were concerned.

Union to resume gold payments.<sup>76</sup> Greenbacks did become so scarce in New York that orders had to be placed in advance for considerable sums so that the bank would have time to collect them.<sup>77</sup> This situation plus the falling premium upon gold produced a short-lived movement in favor of a return to the gold standard, but the opportunity was lost and resumption postponed.<sup>78</sup> It seems safe to conclude that although the financial developments in the South exerted a profound influence upon northern monetary and economic policies and processes they were not strong enough to overcome the forces that were opposed to resumption.

<sup>76</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, February 4, 1870.

<sup>77</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, XIV (1870), 131; XX (1873), 680; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, X, 556.

<sup>78</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, April 5, 1870.

# The Republican Party in Bourbon Georgia, 1872-1890

BY JUDSON C. WARD, JR.

Although the Republicans of Georgia succeeded in electing their candidate, Rufus B. Bullock, as the first governor under the new constitution of 1868, the state was never under complete domination of the Republican party, even during congressional reconstruction. Bullock's margin of victory was a slim one, and he was hamstrung by a legislature one house of which was avowedly Democratic.<sup>1</sup> Internal dissensions within the party made this hold even more precarious, and by the elections of December, 1870, both houses of the state legislature became overwhelmingly Democratic.<sup>2</sup> Confronted with the possibility of impeachment, Governor Bullock resigned his position in October, 1871, and fled the state, leaving his party so completely demoralized that no Republican leader was willing to become a candidate against the Democrat, James M. Smith, in the special election of the following December to fill the unexpired term.<sup>3</sup> With Smith's inauguration on January 12, 1872, Georgia went back under Democratic control where it has remained ever since.

The Republicans, however, were not completely vanquished. Two hundred and seventy-two delegates from seventy-seven counties assembled at their state convention at Macon in 1872 and named Dawson A.

<sup>1</sup> C. Mildred Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia: Economic, Social, Political, 1865-1872* (New York, 1915), 204, 207.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 270-71.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 272. Republican leaders, mostly anti-Bullock men, met and nominated James Atkins, member of the legislature of 1868, as their candidate for governor, but he declined to run.



Walker as their candidate for governor.<sup>4</sup> Though described by Joseph E. Brown as "the very best man the party could choose,"<sup>5</sup> Walker was overwhelmingly defeated by Governor Smith, whom the Democrats had renominated, and only a handful of Negro and white Republicans were elected to the state legislature.<sup>6</sup> Horace Greeley, in spite of his general unpopularity in the South and the bitter opposition of Alexander H. Stephens, carried the state over General Grant by a popular vote of 75,896 to 62,485.<sup>7</sup> The Georgia delegation in Congress included two Republicans: Richard H. Whiteley, "leading champion of social equality in Georgia,"<sup>8</sup> elected from a plantation district in southwestern Georgia, and James C. Freeman, elected from the Atlanta district. White Republican candidates had also been nominated and had made strong races in each of the other seven congressional districts,<sup>9</sup> and in a contested election in the Savannah district, Andrew Sloan, Republican, was subsequently seated in the place of his Democratic rival.

The leadership of the party at this time showed promise of real strength. The federal office-holders, though furnishing a substantial element, had not yet come to dominate. Neither were the Negroes in the saddle.<sup>10</sup> The party included numbers of old line Whigs, anti-secessionists, and business men.<sup>11</sup> Geographically, there were two principal areas of Republican strength: the mountain counties of northern Georgia, and a few black counties in central and southern Georgia.<sup>12</sup> Among the latter were some coastal counties which gave Republican

<sup>4</sup> Isaac W. Avery, *The History of the State of Georgia from 1850 to 1881* (New York, 1881), 502.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph E. Brown to John I. Hall, September 23, 1872, in *Atlanta Constitution*, September 24, 1872.

<sup>6</sup> *Atlanta Constitution*, October 6, 13, 1872.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, October 17, 1872; Avery, *History of Georgia*, 502.

<sup>8</sup> *Atlanta Constitution*, July 30, 1872.

<sup>9</sup> Official returns, *ibid.*, November 24, 1872.

<sup>10</sup> See personnel of the Republican state central committee and the delegation to the Republican National Convention. Thirteen of the thirty-three delegates to the latter were federal office-holders. *Atlanta Constitution*, May 10, 1872; also *Macon Telegraph and Messenger*, May 10, 1872, a clipping in William H. Felton Scrapbook No. 12, in the Felton Collection (University of Georgia Library).

<sup>11</sup> Of the latter, outstanding examples were Joseph E. Brown and Samuel Bard, editor of the *Atlanta Daily New Era*.

<sup>12</sup> Election returns, in *Atlanta Constitution*, October 13, 16, November 15, 1872.

majorities until the middle 1880's.<sup>13</sup> Some of the mountain counties are Republican to the present day.

In 1874 the Republicans were thoroughly routed. They elected only one candidate to the state senate and seven to the lower house: four whites and three Negroes.<sup>14</sup> They also lost the two congressional districts which they had controlled in 1872. One observer later stated that there was no Republican organization "except enough to hold the offices of a Republican [national] administration within its grasp."<sup>15</sup>

But the cloud had appeared on the horizon. Small as a man's hand, it would bring a storm before it disappeared. Two Independent Democrats had been elected to the state senate and twelve to the lower house;<sup>16</sup> and in "the bloody seventh" congressional district, William H. Felton, self-nominated Independent Democrat, had succeeded in defeating the candidate nominated by the Democratic convention.<sup>17</sup>

Even during reconstruction the Democratic party contained within itself the explosive elements from which might develop its own strongest opposition. The Democracy was characterized by Joseph E. Brown as "a heterogeneous mass of as antagonistic elements as ever banded together in one common cause"; namely, white supremacy.<sup>18</sup> Realizing the impracticability of hope of victory by forthright opposition on the race question, Republicans during the next decade followed the tortuous path between co-operation with the aggrieved groups within the Democracy, and maintenance of their own separate organization to control the federal patronage.

In the elections of 1876 the Republicans made no gains. Their nominee for governor, Jonathan Norcross, was an unfortunate choice.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, October 5, 1884, October 4, 1888. McIntosh County in 1888 sent Democrats to the legislature for the first time in twelve years.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, October 17, 1874.

<sup>15</sup> Mrs. William H. Felton, *My Memoirs of Georgia Politics* (Atlanta, 1911), 144.

<sup>16</sup> *Atlanta Constitution*, October 17, 1874.

<sup>17</sup> In the beginning the Independent Democrats did not constitute a party. Seeing no possibility of success in the Republican party, they merely revolted to oppose one-party rule as independent candidates. In some cases they were Democrats who had become disgruntled because of failure to obtain nomination under the two-thirds rule of Democratic conventions. The Democrats who remained loyal to the party were referred to as Bourbon Democrats, Regular Democrats, Organized Democrats, or Orthodox Democrats.

<sup>18</sup> Felton, *Memoirs of Georgia Politics*, 65.

Openly hostile to the Negroes, he lost their support and was defeated by the Democrat, Alfred H. Colquitt, by more than three to one. The Republicans lost ground to the Independents in the state legislature, while the division in the state's delegation to Congress remained unchanged.<sup>19</sup> It was observed that "the next strongest party in the State is not the old opponent of Democracy, the Republican party, but the Independents."<sup>20</sup> And the Independents were strengthened in 1878 when another Independent Democrat, Emory Speer, was elected to Congress from the mountain district of northeastern Georgia after a bitter fight with the Democratic nominee.<sup>21</sup> Speer claimed that the Republican nominee was put into the field expressly to defeat him.<sup>22</sup>

Republican policy toward these Independent candidates is difficult to follow. Open support was feared by the Independents; yet secret aid was needed to defeat the regular Democratic nominees. The Republicans were divided in their own councils as to what course to pursue. In Felton's district in 1878, John E. Bryant, chairman of the Republican state central committee, urged the candidacy of J. A. Holtzclaw, a Republican, and stumped the district in his behalf.<sup>23</sup> W. L. Clark, editor of the *Atlanta Republican*, urged the Republicans in the seventh district to vote for Felton. Many prominent Republicans were ardent Feltonites and worked to keep the party from making any nomination that might draw off part of Felton's support.<sup>24</sup>

The Independents claimed that the Bourbon Democrats were anxious to have Republican candidates in the field where Independents were strong, and the Felton supporters even charged that Georgia Republicans were receiving Democratic money to bring out candidates. This charge naturally was denied, but nothing was proved.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Avery, *History of Georgia*, 519-20.

<sup>20</sup> Columbus (Ga.) *Daily Times*, December 11, 1877, a clipping in William H. Felton Scrapbook No. 13.

<sup>21</sup> *Atlanta Constitution*, November 20, 1878.

<sup>22</sup> Emory Speer to Felton, December 30, 1877, in Felton Collection. Speer wrote: "The Republicans admit that they made a nomination for the express purpose of accomplishing my defeat and electing Bell [the Democratic nominee]."

<sup>23</sup> Marietta *Journal*, September 19, 1878; *Atlanta Constitution*, September 29, 1878.

<sup>24</sup> J. R. Wikle to Mrs. William H. Felton, December 22, 1879, in Felton Collection.

<sup>25</sup> John E. Bryant to the *New York Times*, February 27, 1879, in Felton, *Memoirs of Georgia Politics*, 480-81.

Regular Democrats were alarmed at the growing power and popularity of the Independents. Though leaders had not yet organized a party, there was always the possibility. When the campaigns opened in 1880 the Democrats had become so infected with Independency that they were unable to nominate a candidate for governor under the two-thirds rule. Alfred H. Colquitt was "recommended" to the voters. When Felton declined to run against Colquitt, the malcontents named Thomas M. Norwood, former United States senator, as their candidate.<sup>26</sup>

W. A. Pledger, Negro editor of the Athens *Blade* and chairman of the Republican state central committee, quickly informed the Norwood supporters that they could not expect the Negroes to support their candidate, for Norwood's hostility to the black man was too well known.<sup>27</sup> When the Republican state convention met in September, there was a fight between the Negro and white factions. Norcross, anti-Negro and opponent of Colquitt in the previous campaign, wanted the Republicans to endorse Norwood. Pledger, supported by a Negro majority, led the opposition. The result was that no nomination or recommendation was made.<sup>28</sup> Negro speakers took the stump on both sides. With both Democrats and Republicans divided, and with many Negroes voting for him, Colquitt won an overwhelming victory.

In the congressional elections, the Independent Speer was re-elected, but Felton was defeated by the regular Democratic nominee in a very close race. Felton attributed his defeat to the over-confidence of his friends, an energetic opposition inspired by "a political hatred unequalled in our history," and by "fraud, intimidation, and bogus tickets."<sup>29</sup> It is more likely, however, that his constituents feared his steady progress toward Republicanism and the challenge to Democratic or the white man's rule.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Avery, *History of Georgia*, 587-88; Felton, *Memoirs of Georgia Politics*, 349.

<sup>27</sup> Kenneth Coleman, "The Georgia Gubernatorial Election of 1880," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (Savannah, 1917- ), XXV (1941), 103-104.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 115-16; Avery, *History of Georgia*, 595-96.

<sup>29</sup> Felton, *Memoirs of Georgia Politics*, 313.

<sup>30</sup> Some of Felton's activities in Congress indicated that he had practically gone over to the Republicans, possibly to prevent their nominating Amos T. Akerman to run against

The time now seemed ripe to bring together all elements opposed to the domination of the Bourbon Democrats. An attempt to organize a new party was launched at the Markham House in Atlanta on December 29, 1881. Certain Republican leaders saw in this movement an opportunity for political victory, or at least a more formidable opposition. For a month preceding the conference, Republican James Longstreet, "Lee's War Horse" and now federal marshal of Georgia, and Felton wrote to each other of the prospects. The possibility of a cabinet position for one of their group was even discussed as an aid to the proposed coalition.<sup>31</sup>

When the group finally assembled it included four Republicans: Longstreet, Henry P. Farrow, collector of the port at Brunswick, A. N. Wilson, who represented James Atkins, collector of the port at Savannah, and John S. Bigby, United States district attorney for Georgia.<sup>32</sup> The Independent leaders were William H. Felton, Dr. Homer V. M. Miller of Atlanta, and Judge James S. Hook of Augusta. The platform drawn up by this hybrid group was a strange combination of Republican, liberal, and Populist principles. It called for "a free ballot and a fair count," the repeal of internal revenue laws, a protective tariff for home industries, internal improvements by the federal government, and state-supported free public schools. It condemned political caucuses for nominations, the convict lease system, monopolies, and sectional prejudices. It declared the national government supreme, and called for the redemption of silver and greenbacks. A call was issued for a mass meeting to be held in Atlanta on June 1.<sup>33</sup> Among the seven names

him in 1880. Clippings from *New York Times* and *Cedartown (Ga.) Advertiser*, in Felton Scrapbook No. 15. See also, Robert Toombs to Alexander H. Stephens, March 25, 1880, in Ulrich B. Phillips (ed.), *Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb*, American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1911, II (Washington, 1913), 739-40.

<sup>31</sup> James Longstreet to Felton, December 3, 22, 25, 1881, in Felton Collection.

<sup>32</sup> Business detained Atkins, who though sympathetic with the movement was unable to go to Atlanta. He sent Wilson in his place. Longstreet to Felton, December 25, 1881, in Felton Collection. No one seemed to know who invited Bigby. Mrs. Felton wrote that he was "always recognized as Governor Brown's right-hand man in close contingencies." Felton, *Memoirs of Georgia Politics*, 335.

<sup>33</sup> Felton, *Memoirs of Georgia Politics*, 340-41.

over which this document appeared there was not a single Republican; all were Independent Democrats.

Immediately the cry of coalition and corrupt bargain was raised. Benjamin H. Hill, once proud of his own Independency, branded the movement as "the second attempt to Africanize the South for the benefit of the Republican party." He predicted that "the whole federal patronage would be put in the hands of the Independents for the purpose of buying Democrats."<sup>34</sup>

Longstreet continued to work energetically. He went to Washington, where he held conferences with President Arthur, and in January, 1882, he urged Felton to join him there to assure the administration of the possible success of the movement, so that the federal patronage in Georgia might be entrusted entirely to his own hands.<sup>35</sup> He also decided as a matter of policy that the Republicans should continue to keep their organization separate and distinct, with Republican support guaranteed to candidates who would agree to support the Markham House platform. This was thought "to be more acceptable to both parties than any coalition or agreement that may have the semblance of bargain."<sup>36</sup> Longstreet's co-operationists won an opening victory at home when the Republican state executive committee in January, 1882, adopted the Markham House platform.<sup>37</sup>

Coalitionist hopes for success at the polls were based upon the possibility that a strong opponent of "ring rule" might be chosen as the standard bearer of the party. Alexander H. Stephens possessed an abundance of political appeal; and with his tacit consent, the Independents nominated him as their candidate for governor at the May meeting in Atlanta.<sup>38</sup> Stephens wrote a weak letter to Felton after the nomination. He did not refuse outright to accept, but hedged, implying

<sup>34</sup> Interview, reported by Henry W. Grady, in *Atlanta Constitution*, January 2, 1882.

<sup>35</sup> Longstreet to Felton, January 23, 1882, in Felton Collection.

<sup>36</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, 1882, *ibid.* From internal evidence the letter seems to have been written early in January.

<sup>37</sup> *Marietta Journal*, February 2, 1882.

<sup>38</sup> Emory Speer wired Felton: "I hope the committee of Independent Democrats, who meet today, will recommend Mr. Stephens as the people's candidate for governor. I know positively that he will not reject such recommendation . . ." Felton, *Memoirs of Georgia Politics*, 367.

that the whole people must draft him before he would consent to become a candidate.<sup>39</sup> Later Stephens openly denied that he had authorized his name to be used by the Independent group.<sup>40</sup> The Felton supporters were nonplussed by these strange maneuverings, and broke completely with Stephens.<sup>41</sup> The final blow came when he accepted the nomination of the regular Democrats in July.

The Republican attempt to aid the Independent movement brought violent internal convulsions within the Republican party in Georgia. Differences had appeared before the Markham House conference ever met. Longstreet's leadership was challenged. Henry P. Farrow charged that he was "not versed in politics," and expressed the belief that it was "too late in life for him to learn politics."<sup>42</sup> Headed by Longstreet, the Georgia syndicate, as the coalitionists were called, had little opposition within the Republican party as long as there seemed to be a chance for success. When prospects darkened, rival Republican leaders attempted to organize new combinations to secure control of the patronage, but during 1882 Longstreet managed to hold to his position of leadership largely because of differences among his Republican opponents and because of the influence of his personal friend, General Ulysses S. Grant. This factional bickering led one correspondent to write: "The Republican party was never so dead in Georgia as it is today."<sup>43</sup>

The factional fight over the policy of co-operation with the Independents was but a phase of a graver conflict between the so-called "lily-white" and "black-and-tan" factions over the position of the Negro. The lines were drawn as the Fulton County Republicans met to choose their delegates to the state convention.<sup>44</sup> The fact that con-

<sup>39</sup> Alexander H. Stephens to Felton, May 18, 1882, *ibid.*, 369.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 369-70.

<sup>41</sup> Dr. Felton explained Stephens' actions on the grounds that he was "doped with hypodermics and fed on whiskey until he was at times mentally irresponsible." Mrs. Felton, however, claimed that she felt that he had sold out to become governor. *Ibid.*, 370-71.

<sup>42</sup> Henry P. Farrow opposed Longstreet and suggested James Atkins as the leader. Farrow to Felton, December 28, 1881, in Felton Collection.

<sup>43</sup> *Atlanta Constitution*, June 21, 1882.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, July 7, 1882.

testing delegations were chosen indicated that a fight would be made to oust State Chairman Pledger, who was a Negro and an anti-coalitionist.<sup>45</sup>

The state convention met in Atlanta on August 3 with feeling running high on both sides. Swords flashed the night before the convention was scheduled to open when about one hundred white delegates met in the federal court room to plan their strategy. Pledger, *ex-officio* custodian of the building, had given orders that no caucus was to be held there. Longstreet was able to obtain an entrance, however, and the meeting proceeded behind closed doors. Notified of the meeting, Pledger promptly appeared, forced an entrance, and attempted to have the room cleared. Longstreet sent for the police, and Pledger and his lieutenant, J. H. Brown, were arrested on charges of forcible entrance. After this fight the convention split into two separate meetings. The "black-and-tans" answered the call of Pledger and held their meetings in the state capitol building. The "lily-whites," also called the customs house faction and the syndicate wing, refused to honor Pledger's call and met in the federal court room which they had won in the opening tilt. Separate organizations were set up, but business was at a standstill while conference committees tried to compromise differences.<sup>46</sup>

Attempts at compromise failing, each convention selected its own slate of candidates for state offices, its own party chairman, its own state committee, and drew up its own platform. Both endorsed the administration of President Arthur and the gubernatorial candidacy of Lucius J. Gartrell, self-announced Independent. Each faction included two Negroes in its slate, and the "lily-whites" included a plank in their platform condemning Jim Crow laws. The true nature of the differences between the factions was thus somewhat camouflaged. A compromise ticket was drawn up before election day,<sup>47</sup> and Pledger withdrew as a candidate for the chairmanship of the central committee in favor of A. E. Buck, a white man, who was elected. The Republican

<sup>45</sup> Editorial, *ibid.*, August 2, 1882.

<sup>46</sup> Proceedings, *ibid.*, August 3, 4, 1882.

<sup>47</sup> Official returns, in Georgia legislature, *House Journal*, 1882, pp. 38-39.



party was veering toward a complete split, but the spoils of office were always a tempting bait for compromise.

During the campaign there was talk of a corruption fund in Georgia. The Democratic press screamed that Jay Hubbell, chairman of the Republican campaign committee, and Senator William E. Chandler, a member of that committee, had squeezed funds from federal employees and begged gifts from eastern capitalists, and that a package containing \$20,000 had arrived in Atlanta to be used by the coalition leaders.<sup>48</sup> Republican and Independent leaders might eye the package jealously; but regardless of the share each received, it was predicted that white men would divide it all among themselves, and that the Negro, though his race made up nineteen-twentieths of the Republican party, would get nothing. A. E. Buck, state chairman, and General J. R. Lewis, treasurer of the Republican campaign committee, both denied receiving any "Hubbell corruption fund," but their denial did not convince the Democrats, who saw in a well-financed Republican campaign evidences of outside help.<sup>49</sup>

In 1882 the Independent movement was running at high tide in Georgia. Regular Democrats pointed out with alarm that in fifty-six counties independent races were being made against nominated candidates. There were Republican nominees in every congressional district except the seventh and ninth, and these were the districts of Felton and Speer.<sup>50</sup>

The fatal blow, however, had been dealt the Independent movement. When election returns began to come in, it was evident that both Republicans and Independents had been completely routed. Stephens ran behind all the other Democratic nominees on the state ticket, but he defeated Gartrell by more than two to one, while the Republican nominees for state offices were defeated by more than four to one.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *Atlanta Constitution*, September 22, October 21, 1882. Federal employees in Georgia were also canvassed.

<sup>49</sup> Card and editorial, *ibid.*, September 23, 1882. Articles in *ibid.*, September 8 and October 31, 1882, report campaign spending.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, October 4, 6, 1882.

<sup>51</sup> Georgia legislature, *House Journal*, 1882, pp. 38-39; *Atlanta Constitution*, November 3, 1882; *Atlanta Post Appeal*, November 3, 1882.

Gartrell carried only ten counties, six in the mountains and four in the black belt.<sup>52</sup> More Independents than Republicans were returned to the state legislature. Two of the Republicans were Negroes.<sup>53</sup> For the first time since the war the congressional delegation was solidly orthodox, both Felton and Speer meeting defeat. Stephens had permitted himself to be used as the club to batter down the Independent movement in Georgia.<sup>54</sup>

An analysis of the election returns shows that the Republicans had even lost control of the Negro vote to the Democrats. Negro loyalty to a party whose white leaders took all the plums could not be maintained. One analyst stated that "people are tired of strife and discord and want peace. The campaign had less excitement and the election was quieter than ever before. . . . The Democratic party was never more solid in Georgia." He was plumbing the causes deeper, however, when he wrote: "This is the second state campaign in which the whites were divided, and in which each wing was bidding for the Negro vote. It cannot be disguised that the effect has been demoralizing and that thousands of men heretofore independents have been driven back to the ranks."<sup>55</sup>

Following the discouraging defeats of 1882 the Republican party in Georgia became weaker than ever. It was expected that Longstreet and his syndicate would lose their hold upon the federal patronage because of the failure of their scheme, and factional leaders hungry for office realigned themselves to take over. Most of the Republican news for the year 1883 came from Washington correspondents, one of whom wrote that Georgia Republicans were "as familiar as lamp-posts" in the capital city, and were known as "the champion bores of the age."<sup>56</sup> Farrow, Wilson, and Atkins, of the old syndicate, and Buck, Bryant, and Locke of the opponents of the syndicate, formed a new coalition

<sup>52</sup> Election returns by counties, in *Atlanta Constitution*, November 3, 1882.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, October 7, 1882.

<sup>54</sup> E. Merton Coulter, *A Short History of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1933), 368.

<sup>55</sup> *Atlanta Constitution*, October 8, November 10, 1882.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, January 2, July 28, 1883. F. H. R. were the initials of the Washington correspondent.

to unhorse Longstreet; but his personal friendship with Grant, still an influence in the Stalwart administration of Arthur, made him a formidable opponent.<sup>57</sup> He was not finally removed from office until the summer of 1884, when he was replaced by Bryant.<sup>58</sup>

The Republicans did not even make a nomination to contest the election of Henry D. McDaniel, Democrat, in the special election held to fill the unexpired term of Governor Alexander H. Stephens, who died less than six months after his inauguration. When the *Boston Herald* pointed out that the election principle was virtually nullified by the lack of opposition to the Democratic nominee, the *Atlanta Constitution* explained: "The republican party in Georgia has no principle behind it and therefore no excuse for existing. It is composed mainly of a few federal office-holders, and a show of organization is kept up for the sole purpose of giving these office-holders a certain influence at Washington."<sup>59</sup> General Longstreet said in an interview that there was no Republican party in Georgia except when there were offices to be given out.<sup>60</sup>

Tumultuous district meetings were held throughout the state preceding the Republican state convention, which had been called to meet in Atlanta on April 9, 1884.<sup>61</sup> Most of them ended in contesting delegations to the state convention. Causes of these quarrels are to be found in struggles between the Blaine and Arthur forces and between "lily-white" and "black-and-tan" factions. The issue was squarely drawn when Jonathan Norcross issued a call for the white Republicans to assemble in Atlanta on the night before the convention was scheduled to meet.<sup>62</sup>

Again the Republicans found themselves with rival conventions meeting simultaneously in the same city. The regular Republicans dis-

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, January 4, 10, 21, 25, 1883.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, January 9, 24, February 1, 4, 12, July 27, 1884. Bryant's appointment, it was charged, came as a result of his holding the Georgia delegation loyal to Arthur at Chicago. *Ibid.*, August 2, 1884.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, May 15, 1883.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, December 14, 1883.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, March 26, 27, 29, April 1, 3, 6, 1884.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, April 3, 1884.

patched their business quickly. After listening to the perennial review of the party history by John E. Bryant, and wrangling over claims of contesting delegates, they chose four delegates-at-large to head the delegation to the national convention; they re-elected Buck as chairman of the state central committee; and to the discretion of that committee they left the matter of naming presidential electors and candidates for state offices. The delegation to Chicago was to go uninstructed. It was predicted, however, that after the first complimentary ballot for Arthur, the delegation would split and a majority would go to Blaine.<sup>63</sup>

Meanwhile, Norcross was trying to organize a white man's party. He charged that the Negro was a failure as a party man because of his corruptibility. "In almost every case," he wrote in the party call, "the money purse or whiskey bottle has more influence than any political doctrine."<sup>64</sup> He saw the presence of the Negro as the chief cause of dissension in Republican meetings. As a possible remedy he suggested separate meetings of whites and blacks with committees of the best members of each named to solve differences. Consistency was not one of the Norcross virtues. Although the motion made by him to name the party "the Whig party of 1884" was tabled, the convention finally decided before adjourning to use the name "Whig Republican party." The platform contained planks advocating purification of the ballot box, civil service reform, a protective tariff, and free public schools. Arthur's administration was endorsed.<sup>65</sup>

A later meeting was set for May 1, at which time a central committee would be selected, a delegation to the Chicago convention named, and a state ticket drawn up. Norcross was realistic enough to suggest a mixed delegation of whites and blacks. He said that it was as reasonable to expect a regiment of Fenians to be admitted to Parliament as a white delegation to be accepted in Chicago.

When the Whig-Republicans reassembled on May 1, they were reduced to a baker's dozen.<sup>66</sup> Their business was quickly, if not har-

<sup>63</sup> Proceedings, *ibid.*, April 10, 11, 1884.

<sup>64</sup> Quoted in editorial, *ibid.*, April 2, 1884.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, April 9, 10, 11, 1884.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, May 1, 2, 3, 1884.

moniously, concluded. The executive committee of this party contained such prominent names as James Longstreet, Joshua Hill, John S. Bigby, and William Markham. Norcross, disgusted because he could not have his way, was not included. The convention adjourned without selecting delegates to the Chicago convention. A motion was passed urging the executive committee either to call a later convention to nominate candidates or itself to nominate candidates. Longstreet was suggested as the most available candidate for governor. The Whig Republican party adjourned without enthusiasm or hope of success.

The Georgia Republicans had by this time degenerated into a quarrelsome lot of office-holders, office-seekers, and contentious factionalists. They could not even hold the Negro vote. In the elections of 1884 it was evident that opposition to the regular Democracy was dead. In the tenth district the Republican convention, preferring to concentrate on the presidential ticket, unanimously resolved not to run a candidate for Congress nor to make any local opposition to the Democrats.<sup>67</sup>

In 1886 no candidates were put out for state offices, and in only one congressional district was there even the semblance of opposition to the Democratic nominee.<sup>68</sup> By 1888 another Independent upsurge again evidenced protest against one-party rule. By 1890 it had taken the form of Populism;<sup>69</sup> but the Republican party had been wrecked in Georgia, broken on the rock of white supremacy.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, September 14, 1884.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, October 24, 1886.

<sup>69</sup> Alex M. Arnett, *The Populist Movement in Georgia* (New York, 1922), 117 *et seq.*

# The Changing Loyalties of William Gilmore Simms

BY JOHN W. HIGHAM

By 1860, many men south of the Mason and Dixon line had come to regard William Gilmore Simms, poet, critic, editor, and novelist, as a leading spokesman of their ideas and interests. In that year *De Bow's Review* declared: "He reflects . . . the spirit and temper of Southern civilization; announces its opinions, illustrates its ideas, embodies its passions and prejudices, and betrays those delicate shades of thought, feeling, and conduct, that go to form the character and stamp the individuality of a people . . ."<sup>1</sup> The South's foremost man of letters, Simms played a prominent part in sectional defense and sectional controversy. In the process he lost a strong initial attachment to the Union and acquired instead a new nationalism devoted to the realization of a united and independent southern republic. Paralleling this transference of political allegiance, Simms underwent a change in social loyalty from merchant to planter, from commerce to agriculture. Together these two developments caused him to revise his attitudes on a wide variety of subjects.

The son of a Charleston merchant, Simms was born in 1806 when commercial interests and Federalist philosophy dominated the coastal plain of South Carolina.<sup>2</sup> The mercantile civilization of which he was a part very largely determined Simms' early views. In 1830 he became

<sup>1</sup> *De Bow's Review* (New Orleans, 1846-1880), XXIX (1860), 708. A fuller and more explicit discussion of Simms' influence is beyond the scope of this article.

<sup>2</sup> Ulrich B. Phillips, "The South Carolina Federalists," in *American Historical Review* (New York, 1895- ), XIV (1909), 529-43, 731-43; John L. Conger, "South Carolina and the Early Tariffs," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1914- ), V (1919), 415-33.

editor of the *Charleston City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, a paper which gave especial attention to market prices and shipping schedules. Although the landed gentry of the state tended to regard business men with disdain,<sup>3</sup> Simms devoted his editorial career to their defense. In castigation of the city's tax policy, he wrote:

You have imposed upon our local trade every petty restriction which your ingenuity could invent . . . . The large branch of our foreign Commerce, upon which your wisdom has imposed a most stupid, and as it has proved, a most injurious restriction has utterly departed our shores . . . . No matter how barbarous the nation, it has always been the policy of elder times, to encourage, by every means in their power, the growth of every species of trade amongst them . . . . It was reserved for a later and more enlightened period to curb her course, chain her steps, fetter her, by every possible restraint, and on the shell from which they had extracted the oyster, vote her into perpetual banishment.<sup>4</sup>

Favorable comment on steam and steamboats, railroad developments, a national bank, sound currency, and the growth of industry all characterized the *City Gazette* under Simms' guidance.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, he seemed to regard cotton only as "this great staple to our Southern trade."<sup>6</sup>

Simms was alive to sectional considerations but utterly devoid of the sectional antagonism which was rising throughout South Carolina. His sense of kinship with northern business men and his respect for northern economic progress were important factors in his subordination of sectional to national interests.

The Yankee is the man, who first hung out the banner of Liberty . . . and determined to be free . . . . It is his Genius which has contrived the great system of manufactures which however extravagant and unjust their demands upon us, we must nevertheless admire as successfully coping with our common mother, in a vocation almost peculiarly her own.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Rosser H. Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina: A Social and Cultural History* (Chapel Hill, 1942), 43-45.

<sup>4</sup> *Charleston City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, June 28, 1830. For further remarks on the beneficent influence of commerce and industry, see *ibid.*, May 19, 20, 21, 1830.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, April 14, 16, May 28, June 4, 1830.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, June 3, 1830.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, February 17, 1830. Mercantile Charleston was the stronghold of Unionism in South Carolina. Chauncey S. Boucher, *The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina* (Chicago, 1916), 107-109.

Consequently, in the nullification controversy Simms fought the State Rights party with an unswerving fidelity to the Union. In Webster's reply to Hayne he found full expression of the just principles of government.<sup>8</sup> In his own arguments, however, Simms relied solely on an emotional appeal to national solidarity to the exclusion of fine-spun constitutional theories. "What God hath put together," he cried at a Union meeting, "let no man put asunder."<sup>9</sup>

A strong sense of Americanism in literature supplemented and strengthened Simms' nationalism. America's intellectual independence, he believed, required the development of native artists to express the national character. In 1828 he launched his first feeble magazine venture in the hope that it would encourage American authors.<sup>10</sup> Literary nationalism agreed well with hostility to England, which was furnishing publishers in the United States with so much of their output, and Simms was an ardent Anglophobe. Bumptiously and invidiously he contrasted Britain and America, lampooning Britain's snobbery and its interference in American affairs.<sup>11</sup>

Overwhelmed by debts, Simms sold his newspaper in June, 1832. The fall elections completed the defeat of the Unionists, establishing the supremacy of the doctrine of nullification. Federalism had made its last stand in South Carolina. His hopes of a legal and political career shattered, Simms determined to seek a vocation in literature.<sup>12</sup> The collapse of his party marked the beginning of a fundamental change in Simms' ideas as well as in his vocational aspirations. In-

<sup>8</sup> *Charleston City Gazette*, February 17, March 9, June 16, 1830.

<sup>9</sup> Henry D. Capers, *The Life and Times of C. G. Memminger* (Richmond, 1893), 98. The analysis presented here departs from that set forth in the standard biography of Simms, which describes him as a Jeffersonian and a state rights advocate who "would have upheld as strenuously as Calhoun the ultimate right of a state to secede." William P. Trent, *William Gilmore Simms* (Cambridge, 1892), 60.

<sup>10</sup> William Stanley Hoole, "William Gilmore Simms's Career as Editor," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (Savannah, 1917- ), XIX (1935), 47-48; *Charleston City Gazette*, April 5, 1830.

<sup>11</sup> "Our Union—A National Ode," in Capers, *Memminger*, 72; Simms, "Domestic Manners of the Americans," in *Views and Reviews*, 2 vols. (New York, 1845), II, 1-56. The article cited here first appeared in September, 1832.

<sup>12</sup> Simms, "Dedication," in *Guy Rivers: A Tale of Georgia* (New York, 1855), 8-9.



creasingly thereafter he placed the highest social value on the planting aristocracy rather than on the men of business and trade. By the middle of 1835 Simms had moved from Charleston to the cotton belt, and in the following year he married the heiress of six hundred cultivated acres and seventy slaves.<sup>13</sup> By this means the erstwhile merchant's editor entered the ranks of the ruling class and permanently linked his destiny with that of the landed gentry.

Before 1834, gothic melodramas, stories of adventures in foreign lands, and Indian legends had occupied Simms' creative talents.<sup>14</sup> In that year, however, he produced *Guy Rivers*, his first work which portrayed a southern aristocrat. In that book the protagonist exhibited the approved characteristics of pride, manners, patronizing generosity, and hereditary distinction. *The Partisan*, published in 1835, attributed great patriotism in the American Revolution to "the more influential classes" and dismissed the Tories as men "Without leading principles, and miserably poor—not recognized, except as mercenaries, in the social aristocracies which must always prevail in slaveholding nations . . . ."<sup>15</sup> Thereafter Simms devoted himself more and more to exemplifying and exalting the southern gentleman, whose ways took on a new graciousness for him. In his Charleston days, for example, Simms strongly disapproved of the practice of dueling, but later turned to its defense, lauding the sense of pride and dignity which he believed the code to inculcate.<sup>16</sup>

His new social position endowed Simms with an unlimited veneration for the virtues of an agricultural life and, contrariwise, turned his for-

<sup>13</sup> Simms, *The Partisan: A Tale of the Revolution*, 2 vols. (New York, 1835), I, v; Trent, *Simms*, 95; Simms to Evert A. Duyckinck, December 29 [no year], in the Duyckinck Collection (New York Public Library).

<sup>14</sup> J. Allen Morris, "The Stories of William Gilmore Simms," in *American Literature* (Durham, 1929- ), XIV (1942), 20-35, contains a key to the publications in which these tales appeared. For bibliography, see also Trent, *Simms*, 333-42, and Oscar Wegelin, *A Bibliography of the Separate Writings of William Gilmore Simms of South Carolina, 1806-1870* (Hattiesburg, Miss., 1941).

<sup>15</sup> I, 100.

<sup>16</sup> *Charleston City Gazette*, April 15, 1830; Simms, *Confession: or, The Blind Heart* (New York, 1856 [first published in 1841]), 80-81. During his term in the state legislature, Simms voted against a bill to increase the punishment against duelists. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina*, 1845, pp. 91-92.

mer esteem for commerce into contempt. He now believed industry and trade to be servile pursuits, engendering connivance, fraud, and greed among urbanites. An agrarian culture, on the other hand, stimulates sincerity, manliness, and generosity, and its aristocratic influence raises the level of taste and refinement.<sup>17</sup> No longer did Simms show himself friendly to business programs or aspirations. "A sober attention to the soil," he told James Henry Hammond, "is worth all the commercial Bank & Rail Road conventions in the world."<sup>18</sup> Instead, the author became an extreme advocate of the planter's physiocratic doctrines. Resolutely he opposed tariffs, internal improvements, or state aid to private enterprise. Because business groups seemed to endorse such measures, Simms declared that their occupations constricted their patriotism.<sup>19</sup>

As he took on the values of the planter, Simms gradually became a champion of slavery. In 1832, abolitionism had evoked from him no more than a mild assertion of racial inequalities.<sup>20</sup> Three years later, his novel, *The Yemassee*, cleverly portrayed the detrimental influence of emancipation upon the Negro and his loyalty to his master.<sup>21</sup> By 1837 defense had replaced extenuation. Simms now vindicated the South's peculiar institution largely on the ground that it raised the Negro out of degradation, taught him social usefulness, conferred intellectual opportunity on him, and equipped him for freedom. "The time will come, I doubt not," he asserted, "when the negro slave of Carolina will be raised to a condition, which will enable him to go forth out of bondage."<sup>22</sup> Simms was still far from the vanguard of slavery's apologists.

<sup>17</sup> *Richard Hurdis: A Tale of Alabama* (New York, 1855 [first published in 1838]), 14-15; *Views and Reviews*, I, 17, 233; *Confession*, 122.

<sup>18</sup> Simms to Hammond, February 16, 1840, in Hammond Correspondence (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress). I am indebted to Professor A. T. Odell for the use of typed transcripts.

<sup>19</sup> *Views and Reviews*, I, 6; *South Carolina House Journal*, 1845, pp. 145-46; *Charleston Courier*, December 6, 1845; *The Magnolia* (Charleston, 1840-1843), New Series, I (1842), 94.

<sup>20</sup> *Views and Reviews*, II, 8-9.

<sup>21</sup> *The Yemassee*, ed. by Alexander Cowie (New York, 1937), 392.

<sup>22</sup> "Miss Martineau on Slavery," in *Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond, 1834-

During the first decade of his new social allegiance, sectionalism began to undermine Simms' nationalism. Although he had shown a large degree of respect for the initiative and vigor of northerners in 1832, two years later he evinced a growing antipathy toward Yankee impositions and meddlesomeness.<sup>23</sup> Meanwhile, Simms was acquiring a sense of the South as a unit. In 1837 he opposed the annexation of Texas because it would compete economically with the seaboard states, but in 1841 he was calling for the absorption not only of Texas, but also of Mexico and Cuba, in the interest of preserving the political strength of the South in the Union.<sup>24</sup>

Nevertheless, despite his new-found concern for the South as a whole, Simms' nationalism was still running strong. Hatred for Britain and devotion to the cause of a distinctively American literature still consumed him. As yet he did not consider the North as a hostile entity. Rather, he blamed the British East India Company with fomenting and instigating New England's abolitionist sentiment. "There is," he wrote, "too much good sense and patriotic feeling among the broad masses of intelligent freemen [of the North] . . . to permit them to listen . . . to the wild fanaticism of the spawn of foreign purlieus." Simms could still avow himself "an ultra American."<sup>25</sup>

Despite the strength of Simms' nationalism, the challenge to it grew. The crisis which began in South Carolina in 1844 over the tariff and Texas questions marked a turning point in the intensification of his sectionalism. Simms stood squarely against separate state resistance, as urged by Robert Barnwell Rhett and his Bluffton followers, but also opposed non-action and unquestioning reliance on the Democratic party for redress, as proposed by the conservative group. Instead, Simms agitated for southern unity. Wrathful against the North, he proposed a sectional organization above party lines to defend southern rights.

1864), III (1837), 656. Simms also criticized some aspects of slaveholding. See *ibid.*, 647, 650.

<sup>23</sup> *Views and Reviews*, II, 13; *Guy Rivers* (London, 1841), 26.

<sup>24</sup> "Miss Martineau on Slavery," in *loc. cit.*, 649; *Confession*, 204-207.

<sup>25</sup> *The Magnolia*, New Series, I, 68-69; Simms to George Frederick Holmes, August 15, 1842, in the Simms-Holmes Correspondence (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

A convention of the slaveholding states or a southern league against abolitionism would demonstrate united sentiment and bring the federal government to terms. Simms considered particularism to be the South's greatest danger.<sup>26</sup> Lacking the state rights background of many of his associates, he easily advanced from a recognition of southern interests to an advocacy of southern cohesion.

In the process Simms' social values deepened and his sectionalism acquired a more basic meaning. No longer did he defend slavery simply as a prescriptive right and a human blessing; it became an economic institution to him, vital to the preservation of the way of life he knew. Seeing his own lands deteriorate from erosion and infertility, and knowing that slavery would endure only where profitable, he feared that the seaboard region might some day change in interests and characteristics—might cease to be southern. Consequently expansion westward became more necessary to him in order to perpetuate southern civilization. "*At all events,*" he warned, "*the slave interest must be held intact without reference to the soil upon which it happens to labor now.*"<sup>27</sup> With the accent on slavery as the *sine qua non* of all he cherished, Simms' defense of the institution became more intransigent. Called upon in 1852 to reprint the article which he had written in 1837 justifying slavery, he deleted the reference to its ultimate disappearance, substituting:

The African seems to have his mission. He does *not* disappear, but he still remains a slave or a savage! I do not believe that he ever will be other than a slave, or that he was made to be otherwise; but that he is designed as an implement in the hands of civilization always . . . .<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Charleston *Courier*, May 29, 31, 1844; South Carolina *House Journal*, 1844, pp. 41, 162-63; Simms to Hammond, July 10, 1845, in Hammond Correspondence; Simms, *The Sources of American Independence* (Aiken, S. C., 1844), 24-26. Chauncey S. Boucher, "The Annexation of Texas and the Bluffton Movement in South Carolina," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VI (1919), 3-33, describes the crisis, and Nathaniel W. Stephenson, "Southern Nationalism in South Carolina in 1851," in *American Historical Review*, XXXVI (1931), 314-35, traces its political consequences.

<sup>27</sup> Simms to Hammond, July 15, 1847, October 17, 1849, November 24, December 15, 1852, in Hammond Correspondence.

<sup>28</sup> "The Morals of Slavery," in *The Pro-Slavery Argument* (Charleston, 1852), 270-71. Simms also became a proponent of reopening the slave trade. Simms, *The History of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1860), 434.

Increasingly aware of the economic foundations of southern society, after 1844 Simms thought of the section not only as a political and social organism, but also as an economic unit.<sup>29</sup> His explanation for the South's cultural backwardness reflected this materialistic emphasis. In 1841 he had maintained that intellectual life was sluggish because southern criteria of taste were so high as to discourage creative effort; the mind shrank from affronting the extreme standards which it imposed upon itself. Subsequently, however, he interpreted the artistic deficiency as an inevitable characteristic of purely rural, agricultural regions.<sup>30</sup> He learned that the South's roots sank deep below the pattern of its culture.

The appeal to economic interests intensified Simms' sectional antagonism toward the North. As national ties weakened, the conviction grew on him that the free states were reducing the slave states to a position of colonial inferiority and dependency, to an economic domination which sapped the latter of all their strength.

Such is the Union to the Northern States. It is their place of pleasant pasturage. There they feed and fatten free of charge. The labours of the South, through this medium, are made to enure almost wholly to their advantage. Our fruits pass into their granaries. The toll which is assessed upon Southern productions pays their taxes, builds their fortresses, crowds their marts with shipping, and clothes their barren hills with cities.<sup>31</sup>

As a means of combatting this economic subjugation, Simms, after 1844, returned to his early belief in the development of industry. A charter member of the South Carolina Institute for the Promotion of Art, Mechanical Ingenuity, and Industry, he sponsored the movement for the encouragement of manufacturing not because of any reversion to old class sympathies, but simply as a measure of sectional exigency.

<sup>29</sup> Thereafter he spoke of "the Slave States of the South." *Charleston Courier*, May 29, 1844; Simms, *Southward Ho! A Spell of Sunshine* (New York, 1854), 253.

<sup>30</sup> *Confession*, 124; "Kennedy's Life of Wirt," in *Southern Quarterly Review* (New Orleans, Charleston, 1842-1857), XVII (1850), 195, 197; *History of South Carolina*, 436.

<sup>31</sup> "The Southern Convention," in *Southern Quarterly Review*, XVIII (1850), 201; *Southward Ho!*, 396.

Significantly, he still insisted that industry remain secondary to agriculture.<sup>32</sup>

Simms' opinions on democracy came easily to the service of his developing regional loyalty. In the days of Andrew Jackson he had found popular government repugnant, and throughout his life he clung to the conviction that because of natural human inequality the conduct of affairs rightfully belonged to the talented few.<sup>33</sup> Simms could not dispense with the peculiarly hallowed term "democracy," but by the process of definition, he rendered it inoffensive. Variouslly he construed it to mean "rather a religious sentiment than a principle in politics," or "the harmony of the moral world" rather than "levelling." Democracy, he maintained, was the principle "which lifts man into *responsibility* & trust . . . . It consequently renders me conservative and not destructive . . . ." <sup>34</sup> As the North's growth in population and representation seemed to undermine southern security, Simms became increasingly critical of democracy in operation on the national scene. In 1837 he denounced appeals to public opinion, as a force which he considered dangerously above and beyond the law, but he was not yet prepared to deny the theory of majority rule. Revising his utterances in 1852, he changed the phrase "the convictions of the majority" to "the gradual and naturally formed convictions of the community," and inserted a defense of the greater wisdom and efficiency of a minority.<sup>35</sup>

With these ideas, Simms held up his own state before the eyes of the North as a shining contrast to its unbridled democracy. South

<sup>32</sup> South Carolina *House Journal*, 1845, p. 105; Simms to Hammond, December 15, 1848, in Hammond Correspondence; James H. Hammond, *An Address Delivered before the South Carolina Institute* (Charleston, 1849), 52; *Southward Ho!*, 173. Industrialization, Simms thought, would also emancipate the South culturally by providing an economic basis for literary independence and achievement. "Literary Prospects of the South," in *Russell's Magazine* (Charleston, 1857-1860), III (1858), 193-206.

<sup>33</sup> Charleston *City Gazette*, April 7, 1830; *Sources of American Independence*, 15; Mellichampe: *A Legend of the Santee* (New York, 1854), 7; Simms, *The Sense of the Beautiful* (Charleston, 1870), 9.

<sup>34</sup> Simms to Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, September 6, 1849, in the Simms-Tucker Papers (Library of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.); "Miss Martineau on Slavery," in *loc. cit.*, 653.

<sup>35</sup> "Miss Martineau on Slavery," in *loc. cit.*, 648, 652; "The Morals of Slavery," in *loc. cit.*, 233, 247-48.

Carolina, he proudly announced, guarded the heritage of the past from the reckless caprice of a momentary majority. "She preserves her veneration. The state is protected from the people . . . . To guard the state from the people, we resort to a thousand devices . . . ." <sup>36</sup> While he was addressing such remarks to a countrywide audience, Simms shifted to quite a different position in South Carolina politics. In 1844 he voted in the legislature against the popular election of presidential electors, but the following year, coming into conflict with the dominant group in the state on the issue of the State Bank, reversed himself. Thereafter he cried out against parties, politicians, and oligarchies and called for biennial elections and other reforms to increase the power of the common man. "I have no fear of the people," he said, for here he looked upon them as instruments to wield against his political opponents. Furthermore, the people were "the only conservative party." <sup>37</sup> The people of South Carolina, Simms knew, offered no threat to a slave economy.

The people of the North were of a different breed, and a declining opinion of them confirmed Simms in his antipathy toward democracy on the broader scene. No longer did he feel that many northerners were friendly to the South. "There is not a man, woman, or child, who is not against us," he asserted. His opinion of northerners as a whole lost all balance. He regarded them as dull, unimaginative, and imitative, "a race of rhymers, men and women, without a thought or fancy of their own." In contrast to the reverence, dignity, and stability which he saw in his own region, the North became to him a land of libertinism, chaos, sacrilege, and revolution. <sup>38</sup> The accumulation of economic, social, and political grievances had twisted Simms' conception of the North into a nightmare.

Under the impact of these ideas and against a background of widening cleavage, Simms' sectionalism crystallized into a new form of politi-

<sup>36</sup> *Southward Ho!*, 440-41.

<sup>37</sup> *South Carolina House Journal*, 1844, p. 92; *ibid.*, 1845, pp. 101, 142; *Charleston Courier*, December 12, 1845; Simms to Hammond, November 22, December 24, 1847, September 14, 1848, December 15, 1852, in *Hammond Correspondence*.

<sup>38</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, May 1, 1847, *ibid.*; *id.* to Tucker, April 5, 1849, in *Simms-Tucker Papers*; "The Morals of Slavery," in *loc. cit.*, 264; *Southward Ho!*, 391-92, 394.

cal allegiance, directed not toward the government in Washington but toward the dream of a southern nation. Nevertheless, the process was gradual. In his efforts for sectional unity in 1844 Simms had neither given up hope of relief from the incoming Polk administration nor despaired of the Union. In the years immediately following, the accomplishments of the Democratic party in the direction of free trade and expansion claimed his temporary approval. Consequently, he strongly criticized Calhoun's efforts in 1847 for the creation of a southern political party.<sup>39</sup> Party loyalty, however, was a slender bond for Simms, and he continued to support Zachary Taylor for the presidency in 1848 after the Whigs had nominated him.<sup>40</sup>

Meanwhile Simms began to speculate on disunion as a possible eventuality. By July, 1847, he had come to regard it as ultimately inevitable, although not immediately desirable.<sup>41</sup> He persistently urged southern co-operation in resistance but until the congressional crisis of December, 1849, over the election of the Speaker, cautioned that the South must postpone its strike for freedom until more fully prepared.<sup>42</sup> Then, however, he gave full vent to an eager southern nationalism. His last cautious doubts as to the wisdom of delay vanished in the first weeks of 1850. He repudiated all further compromise. He lost all sympathy for both parties, regarding them only as obstacles in the way to southern unification and independence. He advised James H. Hammond to pursue an obstructionist policy in order to bring on the catastrophe. Filled with a sudden hope, he told Beverley Tucker, "The idea grows upon us rapidly, and we are pleased to think upon the Southern people."<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Simms to Hammond, March 2, 29, April 2, October 20, 1847, in Hammond Correspondence.

<sup>40</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, May 1, 1847, *ibid.*; William M. Meigs, *The Life of John Caldwell Calhoun*, 2 vols. (New York, 1917), II, 420.

<sup>41</sup> Simms to Hammond, March 29, July 15, 1847, in Hammond Correspondence.

<sup>42</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, November 11, 1848, *ibid.*; *id.* to Calhoun, February 19, 1849, in Chauncey S. Boucher and Robert P. Brooks (eds.), "Correspondence Addressed to John C. Calhoun, 1837-1849," in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1929 (Washington, 1930), 498-99.

<sup>43</sup> Simms to Tucker, December 17, 1849, May 30, 1850, in Simms-Tucker Papers;



The last elements of Simms' federal nationalism to succumb before the new loyalty were his literary Americanism and his Anglophobia. In 1845 he was still agitating for a national literature, but antipathy toward the North was weakening his enthusiasm. "If the Authors of Am. will only work together," he wrote, "we may do wonders yet. But . . . Yankee authorities have done more than anything beside to play the devil with all that is manly & original in our literature." At the same time the development of a distinctively southern literature was assuming a growing importance to Simms.<sup>44</sup> By the 1850's his fervor for the cause of American letters was completely gone.

Similarly Simms' antagonism toward England, stemming originally from a perfervid national assertiveness, eventually dropped away. As late as 1845 he favored a war with Britain,<sup>45</sup> and for some time his antipathy was bolstered by the conviction that British policy was inimical to southern interests. After he became involved in the struggle for the creation of a southern republic, however, Simms adopted a friendly attitude toward the erstwhile foe. If disunion should lead to civil war, Britain, with its cotton industry, would constitute a natural ally. Thus in 1858 he refused to countenance protests against an incident in the Gulf of Mexico caused by a British search of suspected American slavers.<sup>46</sup>

For southern nationalism the last decade before the Civil War opened with bitter disappointments and closed in final consummation. Simms pinned his trust for a section-wide movement out of the Union in the fall of 1850 on Georgia, whose convention met soon after the compromise bills became law. When the submissionists elected a ma-

Trent, *Simms*, 178-79; Simms to Hammond, April, 1850, in Hammond Correspondence; "The Southern Convention," in *loc. cit.*, 209-10, 212.

<sup>44</sup> Simms to Duyckinck, July 15, 1845, in Duyckinck Collection; *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review* (Charleston, 1845), I, 67, 363. That Simms, in writing for northern consumption, occasionally thereafter used the vocabulary of literary Americanism, does not seriously qualify the shift in his basic orientation. Cf. Jay B. Hubbell, "Literary Nationalism in the Old South," in David K. Jackson (ed.), *American Studies in Honor of William Kenneth Boyd* (Durham, 1940), 218-19.

<sup>45</sup> Simms to Duyckinck, July 15, 1845, in Duyckinck Collection.

<sup>46</sup> Trent, *Simms*, 180; Simms to Hammond, June 10, 1858, in Hammond Correspondence.

jority to the convention, Simms gloomily despaired of immediate disunion.<sup>47</sup> Yet South Carolina fire-eaters continued to agitate for separate secession of the state, and Simms' southern nationalism was caught in an acute dilemma. He was torn between the restless hope of independence and the broader consideration of southern unity.<sup>48</sup>

With the passing of the crisis, Simms, probably much relieved, returned to the task of creating a greater awareness of solidarity among the slave states in order to advance the day of national liberation. As editor of the *Southern Quarterly Review* he helped lead the campaign for a distinctively southern culture. He urged the South to acquire a sense of independence by creating its own literature, writing its own histories, and steeping itself in its own peculiarly illustrious past. He joined in the plea for the development of southern resorts and the boycott of northern watering places. He exalted the unique majesty and vividness of the southern landscape, disparaging northern scenery in the process. He supplemented his censure of northerners *en masse* with a glorification of an inherent southern genius and character. "Let all your game," he instructed compatriots, "lie in the constant recognition and assertion of a Southern nationality."<sup>49</sup>

Single-mindedly, Simms bent all his political ideas to the service of the twin purposes of sectional integration and federal dissolution. He advised Hammond in Congress, "Now, I say, try for an organization of the Southern members . . . . To this, rather than any efficient action in Congress itself, would I have you address your efforts." Free trade legislation became to him a weapon of disunion more than a benefit in itself. It would stimulate direct trade with Europe, which in turn would form the basis for a liberated South. He ceased to counsel utilization of the federal government to enlarge the area of slavery by Caribbean conquests, and now warned that expansion southward would only sustain southern attachment to the Democratic party. He

<sup>47</sup> Simms to Tucker, September 11, November 27, 1850, in Simms-Tucker Papers.

<sup>48</sup> Trent, *Simms*, 180-83; Simms to Tucker, March 2, 12, 1851, in Simms-Tucker Papers; Simms to Hammond, June 9, 1851, in Hammond Correspondence.

<sup>49</sup> "Pickett's History of Alabama," in *Southern Quarterly Review*, XXI (1852), 182-83, 187; *Southward Ho!*, 15-18, 124-25, 389-403; Trent, *Simms*, 249.

preferred to forego Cuba until after secession rather than prolong the life of a nation-wide political organization by seizing it.<sup>50</sup>

The disruption of the Democratic party in the summer of 1860 fulfilled Simms' hopes. In the fall campaign he supported Breckinridge out of a sense of duty, but his real interest was elsewhere. The Republican victory and the South's reaction against it filled him with exultation.

I told you that the hour had come . . . I told you that the popular momentum would soon prove not to be withstood, & that in the death of the National Parties, Georgia would go like an avalanche. It is a great God's blessing that the triumph of Lincoln was so complete as to leave all national parties hopeless of resuscitation.<sup>51</sup>

Transformed from American into southerner by a complex of social values, political pressures, and economic antagonisms, Simms bent all his thoughts and energies to the achievement of the dream which possessed him completely. He sent his son off to fight for the Confederacy with these words: "You are to remember that you are to defend your mother country, & your natural mother, from a horde of mercenaries & plunderers, and you will make your teeth meet in the flesh."<sup>52</sup> Nationalism had supplied Simms with its ultimate sanction.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Simms to Hammond, January 28, March 27, 1858, in Hammond Correspondence; Trent, *Simms*, 248.

<sup>51</sup> Simms to William Porcher Miles, August 31, [1860], in William Porcher Miles Papers (Southern Collection, University of North Carolina); Simms to Hammond, n. d., in Hammond Correspondence.

<sup>52</sup> Simms to Gilmore Simms, Jr., n. d., in Collection of Mrs. A. D. Oliphant (from transcripts of Professor Odell).

<sup>53</sup> The war years, which took from Simms his home, his wife, several children, and his literary market, left him shattered in body and spirit. He bowed to the inevitability of reunion without surrendering his conviction of the righteousness of the Lost Cause. In the face of an overmastering despair, he strove with little success, in his five remaining years, to retain some hope for the future of the South. Loathing the Carpetbagger-Negro regime, he shunned politics and urged his section to seek present strength by upholding the social and moral order which he saw in its golden past. Simms (ed.), *War Poetry of the South* (New York, 1867), v-vi; *Charleston Daily Courier*, January 1, April 5, June 14, 1867, February 12, 1868; *Richmond Southern Opinion*, June 15, 1867; Jay B. Hubbell (ed.), *The Last Years of Henry Timrod, 1864-1867* (Durham, 1941), 51, 80; Simms, *Sense of the Beautiful*, 14-15.

# Henry Stuart Foote in California Politics, 1854-1857

BY JOHN D. CARTER

Henry Stuart Foote resigned as governor of Mississippi five days before the expiration of his term in January, 1854, and left the state to begin a new life in California. His sudden exit from Mississippi politics was no doubt the result of a growing realization that his political future in the state was hopeless. Foote had been one of that small group of Southern Democrats in the United States Senate who had supported the compromise measures of 1850. His colleague, Jefferson Davis, had been a leading opponent of the compromise. When the Mississippi legislature censured Foote and upheld Davis' position the two senators carried the issue direct to the people as rival candidates in the gubernatorial election of 1851. Foote, running on the Union party ticket and supported by the Whigs, defeated Davis by a small majority. For the next two years, however, the political tide ran strongly in favor of the group known as the State Rights Democrats, led by Davis, Albert Gallatin Brown, and John A. Quitman. The election of Franklin Pierce, the appointment of Jefferson Davis to the cabinet, and the decisive defeat of the Union party ticket in the gubernatorial election of 1853, were all steps in the gradual disintegration of Foote's political position in Mississippi. His final message to the legislature, delivered shortly before he resigned, revealed his sense of bitterness and frustration. He left for California with the announced intention of abstaining from politics in the future and confining himself to the practice of law.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Foote was born in Virginia in 1804, studied law at Richmond, and moved to Alabama, where he resided for about five years. In 1830 or 1831 he moved to Mississippi and engaged in both the practice of law and newspaper editing. He took an active part in politics

Foote arrived in San Francisco in February, 1854, and made his first public appearance a few days later at a complimentary dinner given to him and to General John A. Wool, who had also just arrived. The dinner was supposedly non-political in character, but was in reality sponsored by the anti-Pierce leaders of the Democratic party in the state. Among some 150 people present were the governor, lieutenant governor, and numerous other state officials, the mayor of San Francisco, and David C. Broderick, the most powerful political figure in the state. Broderick and his group, leaders of the northern wing of the party, were bitter at the Pierce administration for having favored the southern wing, led by Senator William M. Gwin, in patronage matters. They knew of Foote's long political war with Jefferson Davis in Mississippi and of his hostility to the whole administration, and they had every reason to believe that he would prove to be a useful ally.

Foote refused, however, to be drawn into the political fight in California at this time. In his brief speech at the banquet he stated that he adhered still to all he had said in denunciation of the Pierce administration, but that he was "thoroughly wearied out and disgusted" with what he had "seen and experienced of fierce political warfare," and had made his last political speech "for many years to come." His sole purpose in coming to California, he assured his audience, was to better his "pecuniary condition" by the practice of law.<sup>2</sup>

In reiterating his determination to stay out of politics Foote was no doubt aware of the aversion felt by many Californians to that type of politician that later became known in the South of the reconstruction period as a "carpet-bagger." Just before and after the admission of California to the Union a veritable plague of politicians had descended on

and in 1847 was elected to the United States Senate. Foote's career may be studied in the following: Charles S. Sydnor, "Henry Stuart Foote," in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1937), VI, 500-501; Henry S. Foote, *Casket of Reminiscences* (Washington, 1874); Dunbar Rowland, *History of Mississippi, the Heart of the South*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1925), I, 724-46; Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist, His Letters, Papers, and Speeches*, 10 vols. (Jackson, Miss., 1923), I, *passim*; *Congressional Globe*, 1847-1851, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, February 26, 1854.

the state with the purpose of acquiring political office in this virgin field. Many of these wandering office-seekers, failing to satisfy their ambitions on the Pacific Coast, had deserted the state and returned to the East. The Californians also complained that the politicians from the southern states especially, when elected to Congress, often concerned themselves more with the slavery controversy than with the problems of greatest concern to California and the West. The California press published frequent editorials censuring this type of politician, and it is not at all surprising that some of the San Francisco papers were suspicious of Foote and expressed doubt of his sincerity when he announced his purpose to stay out of politics. The former Mississippian found it necessary to publish a statement in the press in an effort to make his position unmistakably clear. "Without going into particulars," he stated, "I now unequivocally aver (whatever may have been suggested or charged to the contrary) that I have come to California with no political object of any kind in view: *that I intend to take no part in the local politics of this State, now or hereafter, under any circumstances which can possibly arise: . . .*"<sup>3</sup> This was certainly explicit enough and served to quiet suspicion for the time, but it rose to plague him when he changed his mind a year later and re-entered the political field.

For the first six or eight months, so far as the records show, Foote remained true to his word and devoted himself assiduously to the practice of his profession. He settled in San Francisco, where he formed a law partnership with his son-in-law, L. W. Aldrich. In May, 1855, his third daughter, Annie Elizabeth Foote, married a rising young attorney from New York named William M. Stewart, who was taken into the firm.<sup>4</sup> Foote must have prospered during his California residence for his name was mentioned frequently in the press as counsel in numerous cases before the California courts.<sup>5</sup> He became, in fact, one of the out-

<sup>3</sup> San Francisco *Daily Herald*, March 1, 1854.

<sup>4</sup> San Francisco *Alta California*, June 4, 1855; Effie M. Mack, "Life and Letters of William Morris Stewart, 1827-1909: A History of his Influence on State and National Legislation" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, 1930), 24.

<sup>5</sup> In 1855 the Foote law firm was paid \$20,000 by the state for assisting the attorney-general in the prosecution of suits to acquire the estates of three deceased foreigners who had left no heirs. State of California, *Journal of the Seventh Session of the Senate . . .*

standing members of the California bar, which included at that time such men as Edward D. Baker, James A. McDougall, Milton S. Latham, Aaron A. Sargent, William M. Stewart—all of whom later became United States senators—, Stephen J. Field, and Henry W. Halleck.

Henry Stuart Foote was not the type of man who could remain quiescent in the midst of the fierce political warfare raging in the United States in the middle 1850's, and he probably felt keenly his isolation from the national political scene where he had once shown brilliantly. The immediate cause of his re-entering politics was the rise of the Know Nothing movement in California in the summer and fall of 1854.<sup>6</sup> The phenomenal growth of the Know Nothings offered a haven not only to the Whigs, whose party was rapidly disintegrating, but also to those Democrats who were opposed to the Pierce administration and who feared that the Democratic party was passing completely under the control of the extreme pro-slavery and secessionist element in the South. In addition to these two groups a large number of office seekers from both the old parties, with little political conviction, flocked into the new movement.

In entering the Know Nothing movement Foote was probably influenced principally by a desire to aid in organizing a Union party that would offer effective opposition to the Democratic party as it was then constituted; but he was also seeking an opportunity to return to the United States Senate. He stated later that he entered the new party "tolerably early."<sup>7</sup> The first success of the Know Nothings in California came in the San Francisco municipal election of September, 1854, in which they elected almost their entire slate. The Democrats regained control of San Francisco in 1855, but in the other municipal elections of that year in California the Know Nothings were uniformly successful. In the state election of September, 1855, they elected their candidate

(Sacramento, 1856), 189-91. The large fee and the failure of the suits brought forth an indignant editorial from the *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 21, 1856.

<sup>6</sup> Unless cited otherwise, the facts given in this paper concerning the Know Nothing movement in California are taken from contemporary newspapers and from Peyton Hurt, "The Rise and Fall of the 'Know Nothings' in California," in *California Historical Society Quarterly* (San Francisco, 1922- ), IX (1930), 16-49, 99-128.

<sup>7</sup> Letter to Edward Stanly in *Sacramento Union*, August 15, 1857.

for governor and almost their entire state ticket. They secured an overwhelming majority in the state assembly and a slight majority in the state senate.

For the first year of its existence in California the Know Nothing party remained a secret organization. Reporters were excluded from its state and local meetings. Press reports of the activities of the order were more in the nature of rumor than news. In June, 1855, however, it threw off the cloak of secrecy and came out into the open in a great mass meeting at Sacramento. Foote was one of the four or five speakers at the meeting and was undoubtedly the most popular. It was his first public acknowledgment of his membership in the Know Nothing, or, to use its official title, the American party. In his speech Foote was forced to explain why he had entered the political struggle in California after having renounced all political ambition only the year before. The "most hazardous crisis that had ever risen in our national affairs," he explained, "demanded the serious consideration of the patriot, and every lover of his country." He had returned to politics because he believed "the fanatics of the North, and the secessionists of the South" were making "unholy attempts to distract the peace of the country and to endanger the safety of the Republic." The country could be saved by Whigs and Democrats opposed to the administration uniting in the American party.<sup>8</sup>

Foote campaigned vigorously for the American ticket in the state election of 1855, and, following the election of a Know Nothing legislature, he began to be mentioned as one of the several candidates for nomination to the United States Senate. Shortly before the meeting of the legislature his violent temper led him into a needless quarrel with the Sacramento *Union* which doubtless injured his candidacy. The *Union* was then one of the two or three most influential journals in the state. It had been an independent Whig paper but had given its support to the Know Nothings in 1855 in the hope that the new party would be able to bring about a much needed political reformation in California. The paper found, as did so many others who took the reform pledges of the

<sup>8</sup> Sacramento *Union*, June 25, 1855.



Know Nothings seriously, that the leaders of the new party were no better than the Democrats. In an editorial shortly before the legislature met, the *Union* described the contest for the senatorship as one of "depravity, of low cunning, of staggering and 'hickupping' familiarity; of profane, verdant and ridiculous pretensions and aspirations." The senatorial candidates were referred to as a group of "gaming politicians," and "migratory partisan quacks."<sup>9</sup>

Foote was outraged by the editorial and wrote immediately to the paper demanding to know if the editors were referring to him personally, and expressed the hope that they would explain the matter "in a manner which will be altogether satisfactory." He insisted that he was not a candidate for the Senate and had not pressed his claims on any of the members of the legislature. The *Union* replied that Foote was being too sensitive, that the editorial dealt only in generalities, and that the editors "cordially acknowledged" that they had made no reference to him personally.<sup>10</sup> Foote was still not satisfied and demanded that the paper be more explicit in its denial. The editors repeated their assurance in stronger terms, but since Foote was pressing the issue, they went on to give a number of reasons why he was not qualified to represent California in the United States Senate. His course in the Senate while representing Mississippi, the editorial stated, had been marked by "impolitic acts" which had diminished his usefulness. As an example of this the paper brought up again the incident in which Foote had drawn a pistol on Thomas Hart Benton on the Senate floor in the course of heated debate, an episode that had brought Foote considerable unfavorable publicity. Foote had made himself obnoxious to the Pierce administration, the *Union* stated further, and between him and at least one member of the cabinet, Jefferson Davis, an embittered conflict would spring up that would injure the interests of California. As a last argument the paper asserted that Foote had been in California only a short time and that the next senator should be someone who had been identified with the state since 1849 or earlier.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, December 21, 1855.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, December 22, 1855.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, December 24, 1855.

The seventh session of the California legislature convened at Sacramento on January 7, 1856. The Know Nothings had an overwhelming majority in the assembly, but in the state senate they had only seventeen members opposed to sixteen Democrats.<sup>12</sup> On January 11 the assembly passed a resolution by a vote of fifty-seven to nineteen to meet in joint convention with the senate on the 15th for the purpose of electing a United States senator. When a similar resolution came before the senate it was laid on the table and made a special order for January 22. The vote to postpone was seventeen to fifteen (one Know Nothing member was absent), and found voting with the Democrats to force the postponement was Wilson G. Flint, a Know Nothing senator from San Francisco. Flint made a somewhat incoherent speech in an attempt to justify his vote and among other reasons for it he stated that he "was opposed to bringing on the election in so hasty and indiscreet a manner." He was unwilling to go into joint convention, he stated further, until a candidate had been selected by a caucus of the American party, and that he would abide by the caucus. He was assailed bitterly on the floor by two of his American colleagues, but since he refused to be moved by persuasion or threat it was necessary to accede to his wishes.

The Know Nothing caucus held its first meeting on the evening of January 17, but Flint did not attend nor was he present at any of the subsequent meetings. Foote led the vote from the first. Four meetings of the caucus were required, however, and twenty-seven ballots were taken before Foote received the necessary majority.<sup>13</sup> Following his nomination he was invited to address the caucus. In his brief speech he stressed his loyalty to the American party, announced his support of Millard Fillmore for the presidential nomination in 1856, and stated in conclusion that he "was identified with California, and a true Californian—that his interests, hopes, and family were here."

Foote now had the senatorship almost within his grasp and would be elected easily if the state senate voted to go into joint convention with

<sup>12</sup> The account given here of the California senatorial election of 1856 is based on the *Senate Journal* and the *Assembly Journal* for that year.

<sup>13</sup> *Sacramento Union*, January 18-23, 1856.

the assembly, for the overwhelming Know Nothing majority in the assembly made certain the election of the party's nominee. Only one man, Wilson G. Flint, stood between Foote and a return to the United States Senate. When the state senate met on January 22 to consider the resolution to go into joint convention Flint again voted with the Democrats to postpone consideration. His colleagues again assailed him as a traitor and a "second Arnold," and Flint now gave further reasons for voting to postpone.<sup>14</sup> His real reason, however, was not given, nor was it generally known until later. Flint was, in fact, a strong antislavery man who was determined not to vote for a pro-slavery southerner to represent California in the Senate. He was a native of New Hampshire who had moved to Texas in 1842, where he had become convinced that the institution of slavery was a moral and economic evil. Moving on to California during the gold rush, he took an active interest in politics and was elected to the California state senate on the Democratic ticket. In 1855 he went over to the Know Nothings with the belief, he stated later, that the new party could be used to break down the control of the state by the Southern Democrats. When he forced the Americans to go into caucus there is no doubt that he would have stood by the party had a northern man been nominated. When Foote was nominated, Flint continued to vote with the Democrats to prevent an election.<sup>15</sup>

After two days of parliamentary maneuvering and debate on parliamentary procedure in the state senate on January 22 and 23, a motion was finally carried to postpone indefinitely all consideration of the question of meeting with the assembly in joint convention. The final vote was seventeen to sixteen, Flint casting his decisive vote with the Democrats to carry the motion. Foote lost forever, as it proved, his opportunity of representing California in the United States Senate. Within a few months Flint went over to the newly organized Republican party,

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, January 24, 1856.

<sup>15</sup> Flint obituary, in *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, January 5, 1867. In its eulogy of Flint's career the *Bulletin* stated that he believed at the time of the senatorial election that Foote was "an unfit man, a mere carpet-bag politician, who would leave the State in case of defeat, and who, if elected, would serve the slavery aggressionists." See also, Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco, 1884-1890), VI, 698-99.

where he belonged, and continued as a member of that party until his death in 1867.<sup>16</sup>

Political success had again eluded Foote's grasp and there were, no doubt, moments of regret that he had permitted himself to break his resolution of the year before to stay out of politics altogether. He had subjected himself to much criticism as a mere political opportunist. The criticism was justified to some extent, but there were reasons other than his own political advancement that caused Foote to enter the American party. His speeches as a member of the party in California indicate clearly enough his devotion to the Union and his belief that the Democratic party as it was then constituted was a growing threat to the internal repose of the Republic. His whole career, indeed, in spite of his having been a member of the lower house of the Confederate Congress, points to his regard for the Union and his belief that it could be preserved by the willingness of the sections to compromise their differences. The American party, he believed, would be a vehicle for both northerners and southerners who put the interests of the whole nation above sectional interests.

There were many other men who joined the American party for the same reason as Foote, and who, like him, were disillusioned. The party in California began to disintegrate soon after the failure to elect a senator. The seat to which Foote aspired had been vacant since William M. Gwin's retirement on March 3, 1855, and would now be vacant another year, leaving California with only one senator when much legislation was being considered that vitally affected the interests of the state. The people were inclined to place the blame on the Know Nothings, forgetting that the Democrats had voted solidly not to go into convention. Furthermore, the new party failed to abide by its reform pledges and passed little or no legislation of importance to the state while it was in control of the legislature. Both parties in the seventh session frittered

<sup>16</sup> Strangely enough, Flint supported George B. McClellan in the presidential campaign of 1864, but the reason he gave for doing so was entirely in accord with his views on the question of slavery. He believed that Lincoln was not radical enough on slavery, and his vote for McClellan was in protest against the Republican candidate's moderate position. *Sacramento Union*, November 1, 1864.

away their time in political maneuvering and futile bickering. The Know Nothing governor, J. Neely Johnson, proved himself to be a weakling both in his failure to control the legislature and in his handling of the Vigilance Committee crisis of 1856.<sup>17</sup>

The rapid rise of the Republican party in the early part of 1856 gave the death blow to the American party in California. The Republicans began seriously to organize in the state in March of that year and held their first public meeting at Sacramento on April 19. Foote was present at the meeting and very gallantly attempted to quiet the rowdy Democrats in the crowd who refused to permit the "Black Republicans" to proceed.<sup>18</sup> By summer, when the presidential campaign was well under way, the Know Nothing leaders began to fall away, some returning to the Democrats, others moving over into the Republican party. The Know Nothing state senator who had condemned Wilson G. Flint most vigorously in January as a traitor, deserted the party in the midst of the presidential campaign in August and returned to the Democrats.<sup>19</sup> Aaron A. Sargent, later United States senator from California, was a good example of the northern men who left the Know Nothings to go over to the Republicans. Sargent saw more clearly than Foote when he stated that the issue between North and South was now joined and that the day of the American party, or any other compromise party, was past.<sup>20</sup>

Foote remained loyal to the American party throughout the campaign of 1856. He travelled widely over the state, speaking often for the Fillmore and Donelson ticket; but as he saw his associates dropping

<sup>17</sup> Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California*, 4 vols. (San Francisco, 1885-1897), III, 531-45.

<sup>18</sup> *Sacramento Union*, April 21, 1856.

<sup>19</sup> This was State Senator W. I. Ferguson of Sacramento. He had been a leading Democrat before deserting to the Know Nothings in 1855 when it was evident that the latter party would sweep the state. *Ibid.*, August 19, 25, 1856.

<sup>20</sup> Sargent was the Know Nothing candidate for state senator in his district and was campaigning for the party as late as September, 1856. He was listed as a delegate to the American state convention that met at Sacramento on September 2, and addressed a Know Nothing mass meeting on September 4. *Ibid.*, September 3, 5, 1856. Before the end of the month, however, he retired as editor of the Nevada (Calif.) *Journal*, a Know Nothing paper, and came out for Fremont and Dayton. *Ibid.*, September 27, 1856.

away one by one he must have realized that the struggle was hopeless. California was carried by James Buchanan by a strong plurality, although not quite a majority. The official vote was recorded: Buchanan, 53,365; Fillmore, 36,165; and Fremont, 20,693.<sup>21</sup>

With the defeat of Fillmore the American party had spent its strength in California and in the nation as a whole. It continued as an organization in California for another year, and even placed a ticket in the field in the gubernatorial election of 1857, but its defeat was even more disastrous than in the presidential election, and it soon disbanded altogether. Foote was faced with the difficult choice of returning to the Democrats or going over to the Republicans. He could not become a Republican for he believed that party to be more of a sectional party than the Democrats under Pierce. Furthermore, he disliked the free-soilers even more than the secessionists. The text of Buchanan's inaugural address arrived on the Pacific Coast late in March, and after reading that document Foote decided to return to the Democratic party and to co-operate with the new administration. He published a letter in the press addressed to the members of the American party in which he announced his resignation, and his adherence to Buchanan. The inaugural address, he wrote, was "manly, dignified and patriotic"; it expressed a spirit of "genuine nationality and enlightened conservatism"; it "denounces sectionalism"; and could leave no doubt as to the new President's "inflexible determination to maintain the Union inviolate against all its enemies, wheresoever located." Foote was something less than a prophet when he predicted that for the next four years "the Republic will be in the enjoyment of complete repose." He concluded by stating that he saw no propriety in trying to keep up the American party organization either in California or elsewhere and urged the party members to give their support to Buchanan.<sup>22</sup>

With his resignation from the American party Foote's brief political career in California came to an end. He remained in the state some six months longer but took no active part in the state election of 1857. In

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, January 5, 1857.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, April 4, 1857.

July of that year he inserted an advertisement in the papers, in which he announced that he was leaving for the East in September to attend the next session of the United States Supreme Court and that he would be glad to attend to any professional business entrusted to his care.<sup>23</sup> The Washington correspondent of the San Francisco *Bulletin* reported that he saw Foote in Washington early in October and that the latter was especially jubilant over the "crushing out of the Black Republicans" in the recent California election.<sup>24</sup>

When Foote went to Washington in 1857, he left the impression that he would be gone for only a short while. He did not return to California, however, but settled down in the East for the remainder of his life, thus giving his critics the opportunity to exclaim that they were right in stating that he had come to the Pacific Coast for the sole purpose of advancing his selfish political ambitions; that when he failed to secure a seat in the Senate he deserted the state. Nevertheless, the people of California took a continued interest in Foote's career if we may judge by the frequent reports of his activities published in the newspapers of the state. He remained in Washington for some months before returning to Mississippi, but growing disunionism in his old home state caused him to move to Tennessee, where he took up permanent residence. During 1859 the California press reported frequent political speeches of Foote upholding the Union and denouncing the secessionists. He had become dissatisfied with Buchanan, as had so many others by this time. He supported Douglas' doctrine of popular sovereignty and campaigned for the Illinois senator in the election of 1860.<sup>25</sup>

Foote sacrificed whatever standing he may have had with the Union men of California and the country when he accepted the secession of Tennessee and took a seat in the lower house of the Confederate Congress. The occasional reports of his activities that reached the Pacific Coast during the war pictured him not as an honest opponent of Jefferson Davis' administration, but as a mere troublemaker, the Vallan-

<sup>23</sup> San Francisco *Bulletin*, July 29, 1857, and subsequent issues.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, November 3, 1857.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, July 6, October 24, November 30, December 7, 31, 1859, January 7, July 28, September 11, 1860.

digham of the South.<sup>26</sup> Nor was there any sympathy expressed for him when he left the dying Confederacy on a personal peace mission and was ordered by the Federal government to leave the country or face charges of treason.<sup>27</sup> His widely published letter of May 15, 1865, written to President Andrew Johnson from Canada asking for a pardon, was printed in the California papers with accompanying expressions of scorn and anger.<sup>28</sup> Charity seemed out of place. The man who had asked for "malice toward none, with charity for all" was now dead and the nature of his death had inflamed to a white heat the animosities of the victors toward the beaten South and its leaders. The conflict against which Foote had warned many times had been resolved finally in blood and tears, and he was given more than his real share of the blame. Foote had been, in fact, closer to Abraham Lincoln in his view of the Union than to Jefferson Davis, but if such a suggestion had been made at this time it would have been spurned by all Unionists.

Foote's residence in California had no permanent effect on the course of the state's history, but it had considerable effect on the future of the Foote family. As a result of his brief sojourn in the West, nearly all of his children took up permanent residence on the Pacific Coast. Several of them became people of some importance in the political life of the West. His daughter Annie had married a Californian, William M. Stewart, who moved to Nevada and was elected as one of the first United States senators from that state by the Republicans in 1864. It was in his son-in-law's home in Washington, D. C., that Foote sought refuge when he fled the Confederacy a few months before Lee's surrender.<sup>29</sup> Foote's two sons, Henry S. Foote, Jr., and W. W. Foote, both of whom were Confederate officers, returned to California shortly after the war and in time became prominent in state politics. Henry S. Foote, Jr., became a superior court judge, and W. W. Foote was a leading

<sup>26</sup> Sacramento *Union*, February 25, December 17, 1863, October 24, 1864; San Francisco *Bulletin*, February 20, 1864.

<sup>27</sup> See, for instance, editorials in Sacramento *Union*, January 16, 17, 24, February 20, 1865.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, June 19, 1865.

<sup>29</sup> Mack, "Life and Letters of William M. Stewart," 49.



candidate for the Democratic nomination for United States senator in 1892.<sup>80</sup>

In his letter to President Johnson from Canada, Foote expressed the desire to go to the Pacific Coast where, he stated, he had four children, eight grandchildren, an only sister, and numerous relatives and friends. When he re-entered the United States he did not go to California, however, but settled again in Nashville, Tennessee, and resumed the practice of law. In the presidential election of 1876 he supported the Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes, and was rewarded with the superintendency of the United States Mint at New Orleans. His death on May 20, 1880, ended one of the most varied and stormy political careers of the nineteenth century.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 23; Edith Dobie, *The Political Career of Stephen Mallory White* (Stanford University, 1927), 38; *Oakland Tribune*, September 13, 1902.

# Notes and Documents

## DIARY OF AN OFFICER IN SHERMAN'S ARMY MARCHING THROUGH THE CAROLINAS

EDITED BY CLEMENT EATON

In the army which General William T. Sherman led from Savannah, Georgia, in January, 1865, for his march through the Carolinas there was a young officer from Michigan—Captain Dexter Horton—who kept a somewhat detailed diary of his experiences. Horton had been postmaster at Fentonville, Michigan, but in 1863 he resigned that position to become a captain of volunteers. From that date he served continuously in the Federal campaigns in Tennessee, Georgia, and the Carolinas until the army was demobilized in May, 1865. An active young man, twenty-eight years old, he was pleasure-loving, full of fun, and sympathetic to the southern people along the route of the invading army. As a captain in the commissary department of Sherman's army, he was in charge of sending out foraging parties to bring back food, cattle, horses, and mules. Consequently, he was a first-class witness of the Sherman technique of destroying supplies that might reach Lee's army in Virginia, of breaking up the transportation system of the South, and of weakening the morale of the civilian population.

One of the most important contributions of Horton's diary lies in the field of the social conditions within the interior of the Confederacy at a time when the will to fight was slowly oozing out of the southern people. The diary indicates that there was a considerable amount of affable social intercourse between the northern army and the civilian population of the invaded country. Indeed, Sherman's officers gave welcomed food—coffee, sugar, bread—to many of them who were des-

perately "out of grub." Horton's contemporary account suggests that the southern traditions of the brutality of Sherman's troops were probably colored in deeper tones of prejudice during the embittered period of reconstruction.<sup>1</sup> Southern women, the chief witnesses of the famous march, have left bitter and often exaggerated accounts of the destruction perpetrated by the northern army and of the ruins of southern homes, "charred and black as Yankee hearts."<sup>2</sup>

The military history of Sherman's march from Atlanta to Savannah, and then from Savannah through the Carolinas is too well-known to repeat.<sup>3</sup> But certain facts concerning this campaign should be related in order to give the proper perspective to the diary printed below. The army which Sherman led northward in January, 1865, was composed of sixty thousand soldiers, recruited chiefly from the western states. Following the tactics used in the famous march to the sea, they abandoned their base of supplies and lived on the country by foraging. A train of twenty-five hundred wagons and six hundred ambulances carrying ammunition and supplies such as sugar, coffee, salt, and bread, as well as pontoon bridges, followed the army. The troops were divided into several columns and took different roads. The Confederate generals were mystified by the feints of Sherman in the directions of Augusta and Charleston. To protect these two cities, they divided their forces and thus failed to offer any effective opposition to the northern army.

The real objective of Sherman was Goldsboro, North Carolina, where two railroads met connecting New Bern and Wilmington on the sea-coast. His route lay through Columbia, the capital of South Carolina,

<sup>1</sup> See Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (Boston, 1937), 49-50.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth A. Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood* (Boston, 1940), 229; Eliza F. Andrews, *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl, 1864-1865* (New York, 1908), 47; Mary B. Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie* (New York, 1929), 356; Francis B. Simkins and James W. Patton, *The Women of the Confederacy* (Richmond, 1936), 233-43.

<sup>3</sup> For original narratives, see: *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman by Himself*, 2 vols. (New York, 1875), II, chaps. XX-XXIII; Henry W. Slocum, "Sherman's March from Savannah to Bentonville," in Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel (eds.), *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, 4 vols. (New York, 1884-1888), IV, 681-700; Jacob D. Cox, *The March to the Sea* (New York, 1882).

to Fayetteville on the Cape Fear River, thence to Goldsboro, a distance of four hundred and twenty-five miles. It rained incessantly, the roads were bogs of red mud, and five large rivers had to be crossed. Nevertheless, the morale of the men was high and they averaged a speed of ten or twelve miles a day. Sherman was contemptuous of the feeble efforts made by the cavalry of Generals Joseph Wheeler and Wade Hampton to impede his advance. Only after he had crossed the Cape Fear River, in North Carolina, did his men have to do any hard fighting. Then General Joseph E. Johnston, who had been placed in command of the Confederate forces at the eleventh hour, attacked the invaders in the battle of Bentonville (near Goldsboro) on March 19-21. But this last battle was merely a delaying action against this seemingly invincible army, of which Johnston declared that "there had been no such army in existence since the days of Julius Caesar."<sup>4</sup> At Goldsboro Sherman's army was reinforced by a union with General John M. Schofield's troops that came from New Bern and General Alfred H. Terry's army from Wilmington.

Captain Horton rode with the left wing of the invading army, commanded by Major General Henry W. Slocum. The starting point for the campaign through the Carolinas was Savannah, which Sherman had presented to President Lincoln as a Christmas present at the close of the year 1864. The route of Slocum's troops, flanked by General Hugh J. Kilpatrick's cavalry, passed to the west of Columbia, South Carolina, a fact that explains the silence of the diary concerning the tragic burning of that city.<sup>5</sup> The diary, moreover, has gaps in it, and some entries have been omitted by the editor because they deal chiefly with conditions of the weather, personal concerns, and topographic details. The latter part of the diary has also been left out, since it describes the jubilant progress of the army through Virginia after the

<sup>4</sup> Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman, Fighting Prophet* (New York, 1932), 490.

<sup>5</sup> The accuracy of Horton's diary concerning this campaign can be checked by reference to the official reports of Major General Slocum, Brevet Major General Absalom Baird, and Colonel George P. Este. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 130 vols. (Washington, 1880-1902), Series I, Vol. XLVII, Part I, 419-25, 549-53, 568-70.

war was over. Horton had a gay time returning home, enjoying the admiration of ladies fluttering their handkerchiefs, and the music of the band playing such tunes as "Oh, Jinny, Come Tickle Me." In civilian life he became a prosperous merchant, dealing extensively in flour, grain, and wool. In 1869 he was elected a member of the legislature of Michigan. He bequeathed his diary to his descendants and it is now owned by Mr. Bryson D. Horton of Detroit, Michigan.

January 20: Having passed a very pleasant time in our camp since January 1st and agreeable to orders received last night we moved this morning at seven o'clock. Took the main Augusta road. Found the road in very good condition. Camped on Cherokee Hill about seven miles from Savannah for the night. Rained considerable, weather moderate. Col. Estes [Este], after having started the Brigade, went back to town. Our new A. & Q. M. Capt. White took possession today. Got two letters from wife. One written Christmas and one New Years. Felt terribly *ticked*. *All well*.

January 21: Did not move on account of rain last night. All sorts of grape vine rumors afloat in reference to other corps being stuck in the mud. Played euchre nearly all day, also smoked.

January 22: Did not move today as we are completely *swamped*. For once, Sherman is stuck sure. It is the holy Sabbath. The usual camp scenes and visitors are prominent. A large mail arrived. Quite rainy and a move is impossible.

January 23: Received orders to issue and done so. The wind blew moderately, the clouds flitted away and the heavens appeared once more bright and lovely. Went to town with Lieuts. Bryson and McNear and enjoyed some oysters, also played billiards. Roads very muddy and bad. No prospect of a move in my opinion. The band is now serenading us. I furnish whiskey and white sugar and Bryson makes hot punch. It is sweet to listen to their excellent strains as they now play "Home Sweet Home." How my mind wanders to my quiet little home on the banks of the Shiawassee. In imagination my wife is before me "fat as a pig" as she says, with the little pet on her knee.

January 25:<sup>6</sup> Moved at seven thirty. Roads very good. Weather cool and fine day for marching. Fred got four nice head of cattle also two calves. Soil sandy, low and pine land. Kept on the main Augusta road until the 18 mile post, then turned to the left to near the middle ground road and camped for the night. Saw a Mrs. McCloud take a stick to a nigger. Give him Hail Columbia . . . .

<sup>6</sup> The entry of January 24 has been omitted.

January 26: Moved at sunrise. Weather very cool. Land light sand some low land some rolling. Got some 90 head of cattle. Arrived at Springfield one hour before sundown. Springfield is an old town and gives the impression of once being a nice town of about 200 inhabitants. Now all burned down and deserted. The sad realities have ruined it. The first and second division we found here, who come on here on the Louisville [Louisville and Nashville Railroad]. Issued tonight. In the morning ground some flour. Shallow water froze  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch. Springfield is in Effingham County [Georgia], 30 miles from Lacy and 12 miles from Sisters Ferry [across the Savannah River].

January 27: Left at seven o'clock, found the morning pleasant and sunny but quite cool. In front of the main business house was a firmly laid out grove of live oaks and on one of them just before the war broke out, on account of alleged Union sentiments, was hung one Bradford Jones. His mother still lives in the house from which the rabble dragged him and freely tendered it to General Davis<sup>7</sup> as headquarters. It must have been a great consolation to the old lady to see floating over her house the old flag, the love of which a loved and only son was cruelly dragged from his bed and coolly hung. Saw Lieut. Barton of the 13th Michigan. Moved at 2 P. M. about 2 miles and camped for the night. Land slightly rolling. Timber pitch pine. Could not move any further on account of a bridge having to be built across Ebenezer Creek.

February 1:<sup>8</sup> Laid in camp all day. Col. Acker, Maj. Brockway, Capt. Lockwood came over. Had a gay time. Charlotte fixed a hot dinner for them, also called on me Lafayette Clark. He is looking bully. Adj. also Surgeon of 10th Michigan Infantry. Called on me also a Capt. Hines of 9th Michigan Cavalry. He was *gloriously tight* and represented Michigan in the drunk department well.

February 2: Up at daylight and went aforaging. Found a drove of nine, very wild. Had a hard race in getting them or six of them. Pretty near played our horses out. Found them near Springfield.

February 3: Laid in camp all day. The cavalry (Kilpatrick's) moved into So. Carolina . . .

February 4: Mailed papers this morning for month of January 65. Issued rations. Lieut. McNear had two young ladies from outside of the lines take dinner with him. He invited me. Had a good time. Lieut. Bryson and Capt. Newton present. Their names were Miss Smith and Miss Rahn. Mrs. Metcalf also ate with us. Has cleared off and is very pleasant, air warm. Comfortable sitting out of doors. Capt. White dressed all up just at night. Had a heap of fun with him, for so doing.

February 5: Finished sales to officers. Did not have time to get breakfast. Took a cup of milk and waited. Teams moved out at 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  o'clock. Troops

<sup>7</sup> This was Major General Jefferson C. Davis.

<sup>8</sup> Entries of January 28-31 omitted.

at 10½ o'clock. Weather very pleasant, wind moderate blowing from N. E. Crossed the river into So. Carolina about 12 M. First stepped foot on the *sacred secesh* soil of So. Carolina. Very warm, so much that when we halted we all looked for shade. Camped on the bank of the Savannah about five miles from where we started this morning.

February 6: Was called up early by Capt. Shepard's clerk wishing for an estimate for rations to include the 9th. Rained a very little all day. Wrote letter to wife, issued rations and read and meditated the remaining part of the day.

February 7: Struck tents at 6 o'clock moved at 7 o'clock. At about half past 5 o'clock Col. Estes sent an orderly around to see if the Staff Officers were all up, if not, be up and dressed in five minutes. Very soon came an order wishing us to report to him in three minutes. Having done so, he said he only wished to know if the Staff was all up. The road was terrible; had to corduroy many a mile. Rained all day very hard. Mud knee deep. Horse taken sick, had to foot it. Passed through Robertsville. All burned to the ground. Saw some fine plantations and fine soil . . .

February 8: Moved at seven-thirty, roads pretty good. Country generally cultivated and good cotton soil. Passed through a small town called Brighton. All their habitation burned all along the road. Found some cattle and the boys all got plenty of pork and mutton as well as sweet potatoes and sorgum. Horse well and *all go ahead*.

February 10:<sup>9</sup> Crossed Salkehatchie Creek, a small stream, entered the town of Barnwell at about five o'clock. This town contains about 400 inhabitants, Churches, Female Seminary and Masonic Lodges. Kilpatrick's Cavalry burned them before we arrived. Got acquainted with a Miss Tobin, Clara Belle. Had a gay time. Was in advance of Brigade. Miss Clara Belle just hung on to me to stay and who, by the way was a bitter rebel and very handsome. Did so until Brigade arrived and then promised them to return in the evening, which I did. Found a number of officers present.

February 11: Left Barnwell at twelve o'clock noon, passed through a well settled country. Boys got plenty of sweet potatoes and salt meat. Left the Command with Lieut. McNear and went down to Williston on Charleston and Augusta Road. A quiet little town of about 100 inhabitants. Contained churches, hotels, etc. Learned that Kilpatrick had a fight and lost one regiment by being captured. Issued rations tonight. Col. Estes tight enough. Couldn't walk straight. Never mind, someone will catch Hail Columbia for it tomorrow. All gay at night and all pettish during the day.

February 12: Moved at seven o'clock. Passed White Pond. Timber pine with scrubby oaks. Farm some tilling. Struck the Charleston and Augusta

<sup>9</sup> Entry of February 9 omitted.

R. R. at half past ten, about 112 miles from Charleston and 25 miles from Augusta. Brigades commence tearing up tracks one mile. Moved down the R. R. two miles and camped for the night at dark. Lieut. Bryson, McNear and I have a heap of fun pulling each other off from our horses and etc.

February 13: Quite cool this morning, ice  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick. Did not get up until seven o'clock. Moved at nine o'clock. Land not very good and but little cultivated. Timber as usual, pitch pine and scrubby oaks. Camped on the east side of a small stream called Pena Branch. When in camp, Capt. White asked a darkie if he had ever taken the oath. He asked what is that, a cussin . . .

February 14: Up at five, breakfast at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past. Moved at daylight. Crossed the south branch of the Edisto at daylight and then the north branch just before night on which we camped. Commenced to rain at two o'clock and rained all the afternoon. Weather very cold, ice froze on hats and trees.

February 15: Our Brigade being in the rear of all, did not move until eleven o'clock on the Columbia Road. The country we passed through today has been very uneven and of a white sandy complexion. Crossed the Congaree and camped on the bank of a small clear stream called Red Bank. Timber pitch pine and scrubby oak.

February 16: Moved at nine o'clock. It is a very fine day. Shines the sun bright enough. Very nice riding without our coats. Crossed what is known as Twelve Mile Creek, just before reaching Lexington Court House. Lexington is an old town of considerable note containing churches, old stores and all that go to make up a village of about 500 inhabitants. Camped on the bank of the Twelve Mile Creek having marched about 16 miles. Country uneven and the soil clay. Called a tune and when the band struck up "Rally Around the Flag Boys" the ladies, two in number, wept like children.

February 17: Moved at daylight. Country rolling and much more cultivated than in days previous. Crossed the Saluda River at about 10 o'clock on pontoons. Lieut. McNear, our Provost Marshall, was accidentally shot by P. M. Cook. Camped at sundown on a large plantation. We find plenty of blades and corn on the Neubery [Newberry] Road, and report says four miles from Brown River. Warm and pleasant today. Wind blowing a perfect hurricane and but for the smoke from the woods, fences, homes, etc., burning, would have been quite pleasant. Nobody as yet has solved the problem where is Bill Sherman bound for.

February 18: Owing to some trouble somewhere, did not move until one o'clock. Very fine day. Our Brigade had to corduroy about one mile of road, the other two Brigades of our Division the same. Travelled about three miles and owing to some difficulty in laying pontoons across Broad River the second Division was not across so we halted for the night about  $11\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the river. Foragers brought in lots of flour, meat, etc., which speaks well for its



being a productive country. Just here, Jim, one of my boys, captured two mules, gave one to Mike, both good ones.

February 19: The column moved at nine o'clock, crossed the Broad River at Shirley Mills on pontoons. River about 200 yards wide. Marched up the river to Alston Station and tore up the R. R. for one mile. The country very hilly, the soil red clay. Camped two miles from the station at dark having marched about 12 miles. Foraging good.

February 20: Moved at six thirty. Halted and camped at 2 o'clock about 2 miles from Monticello. Lieut. Bryson having been in the advance brought up in town and reported a female institution there with about 25 ladies and all in a starving condition. Certainly I was all on nettles until I should be ushered into the presence of ladies. Col. Estes and I went up to Gen. Beard's [Baird] Headquarters and asked permission to send a regiment to town to guard it. Having just arrived at Gen. Beard's, Gen. Kilpatrick came riding up and said he was to camp there and would guard the seminary. Lieut. Bryson, Capt. White, Charles Jones and myself took the ambulance and carried down bread, flour, sugar and coffee. They received it very kindly. Went in and enjoyed themselves hugely. Gen. Kilpatrick sent his band to us and we had a gay and festive dance. Stayed until about eleven o'clock. The town amounts to nothing except this seminary.

February 21: Took road for Windsboro [Winnsboro] and reached that town about 2 o'clock. Found the 20th corps had possession. It is a town of about 3000 souls. Contains courthouse, churches, etc. Pleasantly located on the Columbia and Charlotte R. R. Saw a lady on the road who asked me to stop and protect her and then told me it was a shame for southern ladies to dance with the enemies of their country, had better be praying. It made me much vexed and I soon left her to the mercy of cruel straggling soldiers. Roads good, land some hilly, timber some oak and pine. Camped 3 miles from Windsboro on a large plantation at dark. Lord Cornwallis camped with his army at Windsboro winter of 1780. Have quite a cold.

February 22: Moved at daylight on the Chesterville Road. Passed through White Oak Station at 11 miles from Windsboro and commenced tearing up R. R. Saw Lieut. Barton of 13th Michigan. He gave me a splendid book entitled, "Letters of Junius," but for want of transportation I presume I shall abandon. Camped at dark about 17 miles from Windsboro and 15 miles from Chester.

February 23: Moved at daylight and Lieut. Bryson and I had heaps of fun all along today with the colored children. One boy (colored) said he could not go with us cause his wife was *agrowing* . . . . Land uneven, rich and cultivated. Scenery beautiful. Roads good. Took to the right and camped on the Rocky Mount Road, 2 miles from Catawba River. Fine timber, gushing

springs, rolling hills, as truthful to nature the natural scenery today. As we go into camp at dark it is raining.

February 24: Did not sleep very well last night owing to my coughing so much. Tent leaked bad enough and got quite wet. Woke up several times by the water dropping big drops on to my face. Had heaps of fun today getting niggers to ride mules that they couldn't. Stopped raining at about noon. Laid around all day in hourly expectation of orders to move. Bryson took tea with us. Had a milk punch before eating. Oh, what fun we had cracking jokes and telling yarns. Sure we beat the women talking about our neighbors.

February 26:<sup>10</sup> Rained again last night nearly all night. Received orders to move at 10 minutes to eight which we did. Owing to the rain, roads very bad. Mules, wagons, horses, men, etc., all got stuck in the mud occasionally. Halted near the Catawba River, as the high water had washed away part of the pontoon bridge. Sun shining brightly, wind blowing gently. Will soon dry the ground, such weather as this. Hope so, as the men are nearly out of provisions and no chance for foraging. Having been here so long and then the 20th corps having passed ahead of us as well as Kilpatrick's men.

February 27: Roads yet very bad and the bridge not yet finished. It is a difficult task owing to the high water. A great anxiety among all to get across the river, as we have nothing to eat this side and as the rebels are known to be in our rear. Quite a number of our boys out foraging and are captured. Among the number Capt. James McBride of the 14th Ohio a nice boy and good officer.

February 28: At 2 o'clock we received orders to move. Brigade pulled out. Lieut. Bryson having to wait to draw in his pickets, I remained with him until daylight. Laid down by the fire in the rain and went to sleep. When I awoke found a wench with two children near me. Told me all of her troubles and asked me to carry her gal to the *ribber* if she pay me. I could not see it. The roads worse than ever having rained all night. Crossed the river at daylight. Current very swift. The old pontoons swung to and fro. Never saw so much mud. Wagons turn over. Men, mules and horses stuck, and sure I was glad to bid goodbye to Rocky Mount. Just learned that Gen. Sherman verbally ordered everything abandoned if we are to be delayed another day. Camped two miles from river. Headquarters in a large house. Issued rations.

March 1: Pulled out at daylight and had our usual happy muddy time, mixed with rain. Country, the scenery splendid. Land red clay. Have never seen such a rocky country, the stones so large. Crossed Hanging Rock Creek and camped on its banks, the old battleground that bears its name.<sup>11</sup>

March 2: Our Brigade in the advance. Have to corduroy ever so much. Roads terrible. Some good land. People generally poor along the road. Crossed Lynchs Big Lick Creek. Camped on the bank of Flatrock Creek near a church by the

<sup>10</sup> Entry of February 25 omitted.

<sup>11</sup> This was the site of a battle of the American Revolution.

name of Hickory Head. Stopped at a farmhouse and found a widow lady by the name of Horton. Had a fine daughter. Tried to claim relationship, couldn't make it work. Asked Mrs. Horton how long her husband had been dead. Said four years. Asked the age of her youngest, said 11 months. *Good neighbors.* Made about 17 miles.

March 3: Rebs made a charge near Blakley between the 2nd and 3rd Divisions and captured some 15 of our men. I was lucky not being in the advance as I should not like their company sure.

March 4: A gala day at Washington, the inauguration of President Lincoln. Moved at daylight, up at five o'clock. Rain again, and such a country and roads. Dear me, when will we see daylight again. Called at a house and a young lady said it was too bad to tear up her wearing apparel. I asked her what kind of apparel. She answered ————— unmentionable garments. Reached North Carolina line about 3 o'clock. Goodbye land of secesh. Your country is now nearly desolate. May you relent early. Kilpatrick and Wheeler having some words on our left.

March 5: Up at five o'clock and having to wait for pontoon train to pass, did not get on the road until 8 o'clock. Roads through sandy barren country. Camped on the west bank of the Great Pee Dee River at 3 o'clock. Saw the Adjutant and Dr. Van Denberg of 10th Michigan, also one that was known at Fentonville as Little Eddie Holmes. Fair day, the first one in ten days, and now we all talk of sunshine and happiness as well as where are we going to. Had a cock fight last night. Our Brigade Headquarters against 38th Ohio. They withdrew their cock. Evenings we are having a nigger hoedown as we do very often. How Sambo hoes it down.

March 6: Owing to the pontoon bridge not being completed, we lie in camp all day. Kilpatrick's command moved up to the river. Lieut. Thomas said that Bird was captured March 4th, while out aforaging near White's store about five or six miles from Wadesboro in North Carolina. Went up and took dinner with Adjutant Jewel and Surgeon Von Ainburgh of 10th Michigan. Had heaps of sport. Captain White traded my "Eliza" who had gone blind for a mule worth \$150.00. Good trade sure. A very fine day. Issued rations at night.

March 7: Ordered to move at daylight. Just as we were all pulling out nicely the trestle work to the bridge gave way. Crossed at 1 o'clock. Current quite swift and 1000 feet wide. Moved through a fine country and camped ten miles from place of crossing on Rockingham Road. Passed the residence of Colonel Huntington who owns 40 thousand acres of land. Will not allow anyone to settle on them as he keeps it for sporting.

March 8: Started at daylight. Had to do some corduroying. Commenced raining at eight o'clock and rained very hard all day. Halted 30 minutes and got a cup of coffee. Timber pitch pine. But one or two residences on the road today.

March about 20 miles. Camped at dark in the rain. Crossed several small streams.

March 9: Left camp at daylight. Took the Abbeyville Road for Fayetteville. Crossed Lumber Creek as well as several small streams. Some of the boys set fire to a large resin and pitch pile. It burned terribly. The tar floated down on the water and set the bridge afire. This detained us about two hours. Timber pitch pine, land sandy. Camped at the house of Robt. McInnis. Commenced to rain at one o'clock and just poured down until nine o'clock. Report of rebels at Fayetteville. Captured some prisoners.

March 10: Our brigade moved at seven o'clock. I had charge of the rear of the supply train with the 14th Ohio. Rained a little until about 10 o'clock. Marched only about 4 miles and camped 12 miles from Fayetteville, being obliged so to do as the Rebs had burned and destroyed a bridge. Timber all along the line. Issued rations in the P.M. Camp Grape Vine of Gen. Kilpatrick having been surprised and he with all of his staff captured. Later reports say he was surprised and lost artillery and men, but he rallied his men, recaptured his pieces and claims to have captured as many prisoners as the enemy.

March 11: Moved at seven o'clock. Skirmished with the Rebs over Beaver Creek. That is their rear expected a fight every moment, but the Rebs evacuated. Arrived at Fayetteville at noon. Our Division in the advance, Gen. Brand [Baird] garrisoned the town. Camped near the Arsenal. Capt. White and myself took rooms at Mrs. Ockletros and shall have nice beds to sleep on. Seems to be a nice lady. We find a large amount of corn, flour, etc. Saw Gen. Sherman for the first time on this campaign. Took possession of a mill and set her to pounding out meal.

March 12: In place of going to church I run a mill. I find Miss and Mrs. Ockletros very pleasant to be with. Make the acquaintance of several ladies. Certainly we are enjoying ourselves hugely. Wrote letter to wife as a boat came up Cape Fear River. Went with Capt. Newton with the patrol all around town. Saw several arrested.

March 13: Attended to business all day. Went in evening with Charlie Jones and called on Misses Lily. Spent the evening very pleasantly. Pretty girls and very talkative. Everyone out of grub.

March 14: Have been busy all day issuing meal, peanuts, and attending to business generally. Had heaps of fun all day and saw many, many sad sights. Weeping mothers with babes in their arms begging for meal and all such scenes. Called with Charlie Jones at Mr. Lily's. Carried them some tea, coffee and meal. How thankful they were. The girls were very interesting and shook our hands heartily when we left. The Arsenal and Fraction all burned today. One private house accidentally caught fire.

March 15: Received orders to move at 10 o'clock. Packed up and teams all went to bridge but owing to the slowness of crossing, they were returned back.

Got supper, etc., Rained all day and quite late in the evening. Spent the most of the evening at the house of Mrs. Hall. Her daughter and niece, bitter rebels, sang some new pieces for us, such as "The Mocking Bird," "Rock Me to Sleep," etc. Little Sally of nine years was the sweetest amongst them. Little Emma Lily came down to see me as she promised last and I gave her some sugar as I promised. Major Banks of the military school at Fayetteville called to see me. Is anxious to go north.

March 16: Received a written order to move at about one o'clock. I had gone to bed at Mrs. Ockletros'. Guard woke me up. Bid them goodbye. They really felt bad to see me go. The old lady shed tears and said, let us part as friends and hoped I would reach my family in safety. It was terrible dark and very muddy. Very bad crossing the river, the banks being so steep. Camped on the bank right in the mud at two o'clock. Quite a change from sleeping undressed in a feather bed to that of sleeping in the mud. Goodbye Fayetteville. May she soon return to Abraham and be the bright star she ought to be. Left camp at nine o'clock. Mud, oh how bad. Almost a second Catawba Lake. Took the Raleigh Plank Road. Rained nearly all the forenoon. When will crazy Billy give us a base to clothe us and give us rest. Camped on the forks of Raleigh & Goldsborough Road at pitch dark amid wind and rain. Large number of negroes followed us from Fayetteville. The army drew one day's rations and some shoes.

March 17: Capt. White and I at daylight paced off the ground and assigned to each regiment the spot to corduroy. Some of the worst roads I ever saw. It seems as though every time it rains, roads worse than they ever were before. Land low and swampy. Timber pitch pine. Saw Lafayette Clark and was with him nearly all day. Talked of home a heap with him. Weather very fine and I really hope the mud will dry up some. To be short, done nothing but corduroy all day. Made about five miles and camped on the north and east bank of South River.

March 19:<sup>12</sup> Having the rear of the whole train, did not move until 10 o'clock. Fair day and nearly dried up. Roads pretty good. Crossed the Little Coharie, Seven Mile Swamp Creek, and camped on the east bank of Big Coharie. Land pretty good and cultivated. Peach trees blooming and others budding. Looks and acts like spring. Reports of bad fighting reached us as we go into camp.<sup>13</sup>

March 20: First and second Brigade of our Division ordered out to where the fighting was yesterday. Our Brigade left in the charge of whole corps train. Did not move only about five miles. Great excitement about the great fight yesterday, which is said to have been severe. All sorts of reports reach us and nothing we get can be relied on. Had a stag dance in the evening on the

<sup>12</sup> Entry of March 18 omitted.

<sup>13</sup> This was the beginning of the three day fighting around Bentonville.

ground. Sweat like niggers. Drew a barrel of apple jack and issued it. Very fine warm day. Roads good. Ammunition and ambulances sent for to come to the front. We are to the right of the enemy, unless he comes in the rear which is possible. Report says our corps did most of the fighting.

March 21: The sun shone bright in the morning, about noon clouds arose, wind from the southeast and rain results. Overtook the 20th corps train and we had to camp. All sorts of reports relating to heavy fighting. It is possible that a great battle will be fought here. Our Brigade is lucky in having the train to guard. Received an order to go to the point where the road from Cox Bridge to Everts ville crossed the road from Goldsboro to Deadfield. Heavy showers of rain at twelve o'clock and rained till 12 at night. Issued rations. Camped in a sandy open field on the bank of Falling Creek, having moved about 4 miles. Having discharged Charlotte for improper conduct, I employed another by the name of Lavina.

March 22: Moved at sunrise and camped  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile from Neuse River, 5 from Goldsboro and about 30 from Kingston [Kinston]. Fair day and roads good. Reports of the rebs having evacuated and our army centering around Goldsboro.

March 23: Moved at 12 o'clock midnight for Kingston, with whole corps train. Passed through Bess Station, Morley Hall. Found torpedoes in bridge over Bear Creek, also bridge torn up which we built. Country very fine some of it the very best I ever saw. Lots of mules and horses captured, also hams, meal, etc. Camped by a small stream seven miles from Kingston.

March 24: Went to Kingston. The train loaded with stores and foraged. It is a nice little town on Neuse River. Had lots of fun. Wrote letter to wife. Came back and camped where left in the morning.

March 25: Took charge of detail to forage for mules and horses. Brought 14 in all. Rode about 50 miles. Went to Snow Hill in Greene County. Found fine country and the people generally frightened of the Yanks. Wonder we did not get taken in being 18 miles from the command. Got back in camp on a small stream 6 miles from Goldsboro.<sup>14</sup>

April 10:<sup>15</sup> After nearly two weeks rest, Sherman again takes up the march. Time has been occupied in Goldsboro in reading letters and papers and writing to friends and making out account. In this time, Richmond has been evacuated and old Billy received notice to scatter Johnson. Moved at six o'clock and after the usual delay in moving out, a train got on the Raleigh road under the authority of Brig. Gen. George E. Greene, who took command of the Brigade, April 9 at 10 o'clock. Crossed the Little River which empties into the Neuse, west of Goldsboro. Commenced raining about 10 o'clock and kept up all day as a con-

<sup>14</sup> Entry of March 26 omitted.

<sup>15</sup> The diary does not contain entries for the period from March 27 to April 9, inclusive.

sequence, road got very bad. It is hard marching. The soil is of a clay nature and well cultivated. Timber pitch pine. Splendid farm houses dot the country all along. The second Division who has the advance, skirmished with rebs all day. One killed who belonged in Ohio. A number of prisoners came to our lines whom the Johnnies were making prisoners of. Wagon road crossed the Raleigh R. R. leaving it, the R. R. to our right. They destroyed it yesterday. Camped all night at a small stream on the other side of which the rebs had possession.

April 11: Was on the road at five o'clock, crossed Moccasin Swamp Creek, a small stream, also Quitactus Creek. Road rather muddy and quite bad. Land very low and poor all day. Skirmish by the 22nd Brigade all day with the Johnnies. Second Brigade had the advance. 15th Indiana did the work, and well done too. They charged them every time, not giving them time to form. Entered Smithfield at one o'clock. Saw a rebel prisoner captured and he gave the following joke on General Slocum. The Gen. asked him what kind of a man Hampton was. He said (a sort of a dandy gentlemen) one of those fellows from West Point.<sup>16</sup> Hit Slocum, he being one of that stripe. Slocum said some of the West Pointers did not know enough to straddle a horse. Smithfield is a fine little town on the banks of the Neuse. Well laid out but is rather old. Is the county seat of Johnson County. Camped on the north side of town. Headquarters in the yard of Mrs. Cobb. Saw the senior warden of the Masonic lodge and visited annex room.

April 12: Was on the road again at five o'clock, breakfast at four. Our Brigade in the advance, 14th Ohio employed as skirmishers. Crossed the river, took the right hand road for Raleigh via Gulleys Station. 14th Ohio bugler wounded early in the morning. The rebs shell us some but no damage done, except wounding two in the 18th Kentucky and 14th Ohio bugler. Some very fine country and "Vice Versa." Entered Clayton at about 2 p.m. This is 14 miles from Raleigh and 12 miles from Smithfield, a pleasant little country town. About 7 o'clock an engine and one passenger car came thundering along from toward Raleigh. Enthusiasm and excitement ran wild, I assure you. It proved to be a train that the ever watchful had captured within six miles of Raleigh, containing Gov. Vance, Lieut. Gov. and two rebel Colonels.<sup>17</sup> Have fine roads and fine weather.

<sup>16</sup> General Wade Hampton, wealthy South Carolina planter, had never attended West Point and had no previous military training before he became a cavalry leader.

<sup>17</sup> Horton was mistaken on the identity of the passengers. They were David L. Swain and William A. Graham, two former governors of North Carolina who had started to Sherman's headquarters as commissioners from Governor Zebulon B. Vance. See Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 345. It is interesting to note that although the news of General Lee's surrender was announced to Sherman's army on April 12, no mention of it appears in this diary.

April 13: Moved at half past five. I went on with Fred to the head of the column which was 1st Division. Got into Raleigh at about 10 o'clock. Rained nearly all the forenoon. Raleigh is a gay and festive town sure. Contains such a heap of fine things and pretty women, etc. Camped for the night a little on the left of the town. Saw Mr. and Mrs. Judge Badger<sup>18</sup> who inquired about old Gen. Cass. Got Raleigh paper of April 12/65. Issued rations at night.

April 14: Received orders to move at eight o'clock. Hate to have to leave a town of such magnitude and dimensions after having become so attached to it. Moved on the road making for Holly Springs. Country very good, and also ordered to forage again off from the country. It was sad to see the system of *Bummy* commence again. Camped at night at dark in the pine woods away from *anyone*.

April 15: Commenced to rain at daylight and continued very hard until 12 as we arrived at Holly Springs. An orderly came with a dispatch to Gen. Davis that Johnston had surrendered and for him not to send any of his corps across the Cape Fear River. Roads very bad. We halt here for the night. The system of foraging having again been commenced a large amount of bacon and some mules and horses are brought in. I get sick of business when I look at my accounts and know that Mike has gone.

April 16: Holly Springs is a small country town of no ancient or modern note. Our Brigade having the corps train today, we do not move out until two o'clock. Issued rations this morning for two days to last four. Very fine day indeed (a cool gentle breeze). Move four miles and camp in the house of Jesse Burke.

April 18:<sup>19</sup> Official report that Abraham Lincoln had been assassinated and was dead. Hard, hard, indeed. After four years of trial and bloody war and just as the harbinger of peace was returning he goes to his long home. The soldier's friend, the country's second father. What a gloom must hang over the country. Very fine day and we long to get out of here.<sup>20</sup>

April 28: Remained in camp until today waiting the termination of a surrender by Gen. Johnston to Gen. Sherman. The same having been officially announced we move at seven o'clock homeward bound. The 1st division got on a terrible *bumming* about 2 o'clock last night, with artillery, musketry, etc. Got

<sup>18</sup> This was George E. Badger, a prominent Whig leader in North Carolina, who had been secretary of the navy under Presidents Harrison and Tyler and later a United States senator. He had opposed secession, but had accepted the decision of his state in leaving the Union.

<sup>19</sup> Entry of April 17 omitted.

<sup>20</sup> On April 18 Sherman signed an armistice with Johnston at Bennett House, near Durham, North Carolina, but the proposed terms of surrender were regarded as too liberal by Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton and President Andrew Johnson, and were not approved. Consequently, the actual surrender of Johnston's army did not occur until April 26, the terms being the same as those granted to Lee's army. There are no entries in Horton's diary for the period from April 19 to 27, inclusive.



our whole Division. Gen. Greene got the Brigade out on double quick. Moved along very rapidly over the same road that we came out on.

April 29: Moved at six o'clock and camped at Pages Station on the N.C.R.R. eight miles from Raleigh. Got letter from wife and Hep dated April 15th, and from Mike at Toledo April 17/65. Issued rations. Did not get through until 10 o'clock. Wrote letter to wife and to Com. Gen. Sub. A Capt. Stanberg from Fayetteville called on me. Had a good visit talking of *enemies* in that town.

April 30: Ready to move at half past five and as our brigade was in the rear of the division did not get on the road until 8 o'clock. Our line of march is to be Milton, Oxford to Boydton, and Richmond. Passed through Morrisville where we left the N.C.R.R. to our left. Country today woody and shady and under a medium state of cultivation. Camped at sundown near Thomasville about 8 miles from Neuse. Made about 18 miles.

May 1: Left camp at half past five, crossed the Neuse at Parks Bridge at seven o'clock. River about 150 feet wide at this point. Oh such a fine May morning. Everyone in the highest glee and in every camp some one is singing homeward bound. At Wilton a large number of the citizens congregated and at the approach of our troops raised the old flag which was rudely torn down four years ago. Mrs. Dr. Smith had safely kept it, notwithstanding the many threats of her recent secesh friends, that one day she would rue it. Col. Hunter's Brigade band struck up a lively air, the women waved their handkerchiefs. The ceremony was very interesting and imposing. Took an hour for dinner on the south bank of Tar River at two o'clock. Saw lots of darkies all along, whom we told were free. One old fellow just stood and yelled all the time. Another said "much obliged to you *gemmen* for the undertaking." Camped at Hatchers Run four miles from Oxford, having marched about 25 miles.

May 2: Moved at six o'clock, reached Oxford at seven o'clock. This is a nice little town of about 12,000. Called on Miss Lily Little John and Sophie Grandy by request of Capt. Stanberg of Fayetteville. Found them quite interesting young ladies. Capt. Newton, Ed. Renolds, Billy Paddock and Fred went into the country to buy eggs and butter. Was the first Yankees ever seen in several places. Had lots of fun. People all along ready and willing to do anything to please us. Passed Williamsburg<sup>21</sup> a little town and to camp at dark with eggs and butter. Marched 24 miles.

May 3: Left camp at six o'clock. Halted at Roanok River at nine o'clock to lay pontoons which detained us until three o'clock. In this time Fred and I issued rations. Country very fine and everything goes merry and gay. Crossed the line into Virginia about 3 miles from the river. Soil today much better. Timber oak and hickory. Reached Boydton at sundown. This contains the Randolph and Macon College, not in operation since the first day of the war. An old town and looks hard. Camped one mile from it on Cox Road at dark. Find that

<sup>21</sup> Williamsboro, Granville County, near the Virginia line, famed for its race track.

Sheridan's men have raided through the country here and don't bear any better name than Sheridan's<sup>22</sup> bummers.

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Received \$823.67 my pay from the Government from Nov. 1st., 1864 to April 30th., 1865, of S. S. Thuston, Paymaster.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Although Horton wrote "Sheridan's," he was obviously referring to "Sherman's bummers."

<sup>23</sup> The entries after May 3 are omitted. This notation concerning pay appears at the end of the diary.

## Book Reviews

*Admiral of the Ocean Sea; A Life of Christopher Columbus.* Volumes I and II.

By Samuel Eliot Morison. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1942. Pp. xlv, 448, 445. Maps, charts, illustrations. \$10.00.)

"This book arose out of a desire to know exactly where Columbus sailed on his Four Voyages, and what sort of a seaman he was." It is written by a sailor with skill enough to duplicate, in large part, the Admiral's maritime feats and with a love of water that inspires some of the most beautiful descriptions of seascapes in the English language. It is, to fall into the author's habit of using slang, a cocky book. It is written with what would be an offensive assurance if the reader did not instinctively know that the author has a right to his dogmatic certainty. It is a tiresome book in its monotonous detail and at the same time a highly interesting one because of the magnificent grasp which the author has on the deeper meanings of all that was taking place. It is, indeed, a work fitting to record one of the great epics of human history.

These comments belong properly ahead of any description of Professor Morison's book because they are the outstanding impressions left on the reader of these two heavy volumes. The seemingly studied use of slang, the impudent dismissal of all who do not agree, the cocksure air with which guesses are set down, the brilliant insight into both the hero and the task he was undertaking, these are the things which are remembered when all the bewildering details regarding ships and sailing, harbors and coast lines, syphilis and political intrigue are forgotten. They are the things which give charm and value to what, after all, is largely a confirmation of the Columbus story as told by Las Casas.

Professor Morison organized a sailing expedition, or rather several of them, and followed, in part, the courses set by Columbus on his voyages. His object was to get the feel of things by actual experience and to do for Columbus what Parkman did for the French in the New World. He reinforced this, of course, with a careful study of all existing documents and a critical study of all secondary works. And it may be said with confidence that his conclusions and the presentation of them come as near to being what is called a definitive work as any in the American field.

A few of the more interesting of Professor Morison's findings should be noted. He rejects completely the old notion that Columbus was aided by the invention of such gadgets as the astrolabe or such new types of vessel as the caravel. He lays great stress on the fact that Columbus was a devoutly religious

man and that he was named for a saint whose qualities were those of the explorer. He believes that Columbus was a superb sailor but questions whether he followed the very best course to America as some have insisted. He minimizes psychological difficulties and insists that every educated man of the day believed that the world was a sphere. He is positive that Columbus set sail for India and that he continued to believe that he had reached that land and not a new continent. He takes considerable delight in the fact that the "phony" reckonings with which Columbus sought to deceive his sailors were nearer right than the ones accepted by the Admiral himself.

Professor Morison has a little difficulty of his own in knowing whether sailors have a deep appreciation of the beauty all around them or not. He contradicts himself at least twice on this matter. But this is the only slip discovered in nearly nine hundred pages packed with fact and conjecture. The rest, even including an unusual number of perfectly obvious guesses, can be accepted as "sound" as far as this landlubber knows.

University of Chicago

AVERY CRAVEN

*The Golden Age of Colonial Culture.* By Thomas J. Wertenbaker. (New York: New York University Press, 1942. Pp. x, 171. \$3.00.)

This little book has distinction. An author with imagination and scholarship and a typographer with imagination and skill have produced a most attractive study of American culture.

The eight chapters of this book were originally lectures delivered at New York University. They comprise a summary of the cultural aspects of middle eighteenth century America as represented in six centers—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Williamsburg, and Charleston. The back country is by intention omitted, and only the urban side of colonial life is treated. In these six lectures there are at once a summary of what Professor Wertenbaker has already published in his two volumes on the Founding of American Civilization and a foretaste of what is to come in his third, which will deal with New England.

The descriptive material which forms the body of the book is bound together by two dominant ideas. The first is that the culture of the colonies was the product of four forces: foreign inheritance, local conditions, continued contact with England, and the melting pot. The first two of the forces resulted in great diversities in colonial culture in the seventeenth century. The last two reduced those diversities and were producing a much greater degree of uniformity by the time of the Revolution than had existed at any time before.

In architecture, for example, the colonists built the kind of houses when they came over that they had known back home. And houses in seventeenth century England were different in every part of the country, so that many types of Eng-

lish domestic architecture mingled in the colonies with homes of Dutch, Swedish, German, and even French inspiration. But in the eighteenth century the Georgian house became the model for the best colonial architecture up and down the coast, simply because it was the model in England.

And so it was in the fine arts, in literature, in the theater, in education. The colonial model was the English model. "Eighteenth-century American culture was the culture of contemporaneous England transplanted in America and superimposed upon the various civilizations that had developed there." Yet the closing chapter of the book is a reminder that these English forms were strongly modified by local conditions in the colonies, so that something distinctively American came out of the currents of eighteenth century thought and custom.

The second of the dominant ideas is implied in the title—*The Golden Age of Colonial Culture*. Mr. Wertenbaker's researches have demonstrated to him, as he now demonstrates to us, that in the life of the seaboard towns on the eve of the Revolution there was really a deeply appreciative if not a creative culture. Life that had been hard now softened. Life that had been bare and meager now became elegant and luxurious. Life that had been purely material now became intellectual and aesthetic.

The author describes with unusual ability to handle detail, the beauty that was found outside in gardens and inside in the furnishings of the increasingly imposing Georgian homes, the fastidiousness of clothing, and all the gaieties and niceties that abounded in the colonial capitals.

His descriptions recapture for us the quality of a life we have forgotten, and they are ample proof that though for most Americans life was still hard and meager, there were centers of culture and luxury, where the age was neither brass nor iron, but truly golden.

Vanderbilt University

PHILIP DAVIDSON

*Main Currents in American History*. By Ralph H. Gabriel. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1942. Pp. vii, 190, xxxi [appendix]. \$1.50.)

This volume was originally prepared as a series of lectures to be delivered to the soldiers of the Second Army under Lieutenant General Ben Lear, and was first printed in a larger volume entitled, *School of the Citizen Soldier*. It was designed to give the soldiers a general understanding of the growth of American democracy and the interests of the United States in the present world conflict. As such it is an admirable summary of the history of the United States from its discovery to Pearl Harbor. Professor Gabriel's ability to compress so much information and interpretation into such a limited space is truly amazing. The book is written in simple yet forceful language and is a most readable one. Certainly no one will condemn it as "dry as dust" history.

In general the story of American democracy is told chronologically, but some problems—westward expansion, for instance—are developed topically. About equal space is devoted to the colonial, the middle, and the post-Civil War periods. One striking disproportion, from the reviewer's point of view, is found in the evaluation of the three men whom the author singles out as the key figures of the Civil War years. He devotes three pages to Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson, three to Robert E. Lee, and only two to Abraham Lincoln.

The tone of the work is distinctly patriotic and didactic. Professor Gabriel emphasizes the contributions of the United States to the growth of democracy, justifies the nation in most of its actions, and contrasts the evils of the dictatorships with the benefits of the democracies. He seems less sure of his position, however, when he discusses such topics as big business and imperialism in American history. The author seizes every opportunity to point out lessons in past history for the present world conflict, and emphasizes the view that a bold offensive is more likely to bring victory than defensive operations. The work is calculated to strengthen the feeling of accord between the United States and her allies, and particularly to cultivate a favorable attitude toward England. The similarity of English rights and American ideas of democracy is, therefore, often noted. And the "Good Neighbor" policy is given a boost, although the author recognizes that historical backgrounds do not always support such a policy. Professor Gabriel also emphasizes the thesis that sea power is essential to victory in war and to security in peace.

Necessarily the compression of the main trends in American history into a book of less than two hundred pages requires a careful selection of certain materials and the exclusion of others. Even so, it is difficult to justify some of Professor Gabriel's omissions. For instance, he ignores the Compromise of 1850 in his treatment of the sectional issue. His analysis of the Fourteenth Amendment fails to mention the fact that the corporations reaped the major benefits of that change in the Constitution.

The reviewer finds himself on the horns of a dilemma in his attitude toward this book. On the one hand he is inclined to praise Professor Gabriel's succinct and admirable resumé of the high lights of American history; on the other, he is inclined to question the wisdom of writing history for propaganda, or for the purpose of indoctrination. Whether it was or was not intentional on the part of the author, this book seems to have been written to inculcate certain views to the exclusion of others. For instance, President Cleveland's effort to settle the Venezuela crisis of 1894 is described as a "friendly attempt." And in emphasizing the superior benefits of American democracy, Professor Gabriel says that under the Constitution Congress alone can suspend the writ of habeas corpus, completely ignoring the fact that President Lincoln suspended the writ without authorization from Congress. The selection of data to present a special

point of view will almost inevitably produce a distorted picture and leave false impressions. Should history ever be written in such a spirit?

University of North Carolina

FLETCHER M. GREEN

*South Carolina Silversmiths, 1690-1860.* By E. Milby Burton. (Charleston: The Charleston Museum, 1942. Pp. xvii, 311. Illustrations, bibliography. \$3.50.)

The publication of this volume indicates a present interest in silver plate among South Carolinians which dates from the early years of the colony. Prior to 1700 there were already two silversmiths working in Charleston, and as early as 1701 a committee of the commons house of assembly declared that the need for coins might be met by melting plate, "great quantities" of which were being offered for sale at that time. The continuing interest of affluent South Carolinians is demonstrated by the fact that the author of this volume has been able to catalog no fewer than 319 silversmiths working in South Carolina in the period before 1860.

It should be noted, however, that not all of the 319 persons listed may be definitely classed as actual workers in silver. Apparently in a number of cases where the evidence is quite inconclusive, the author has resolved the doubt in favor of inclusion in his list. However, both in his introductory statement and occasionally in individual sketches he has warned the reader of the possibility of error and pointed out the difficulties of identification. Because of frequent combination of trades it is often difficult to differentiate between the goldsmith, silversmith, jeweler, and watchmaker. And even when contemporary records refer to individuals as silversmiths one cannot always be sure that the classification is accurate. In some cases the mark of a silversmith on a preserved piece may indicate not a craftsman but merely a silver merchant whose stock was especially made for him. But after due allowance for uncertain cases the list of South Carolina silversmiths would still be impressively long. That some information has been found concerning so many silversmiths is a tribute to the thoroughness with which the author has searched the contemporary records.

"But if there was so much activity on the part of the early workers in silver, and so large a demand for their products, why is there today such a dearth of early, locally-made silver?" The author's answer is (1) war, (2) fire, and (3) reworking made necessary by wear or by desire for modernization. Both in the Revolution and in the Civil War the losses in South Carolina from looting were notoriously great. The state has also been particularly unfortunate in losses from fire, as in the great conflagration of 1861 in Charleston and in Sherman's Columbia blaze of 1865. It is therefore not surprising that little early silver has survived. Only a few pieces of English silver of the seventeenth century, and none of South Carolina from the same period, have been found in the state.

For the later period many fine specimens have been preserved, some of which are beautifully illustrated in the present volume.

The individual sketches vary in length from a few lines to several pages and are arranged alphabetically by towns. Charleston accounts for more than two-thirds of the list, due mainly to the predominance of the city, but also apparently because the Charleston records have been more closely worked. The biographical data and the ninety-seven silversmith marks which have been included make the volume a valuable reference work "for persons directly interested in old silver as well as historians, antiquarians, and genealogists." Only a few errors, as in the spelling of *Petigru*, have been detected by the reviewer.

Wofford College

CHARLES E. CAUTHEN

*The Culture of Early Charleston.* By Frederick P. Bowes. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942. Pp. ix, 156. Appendix, bibliography. \$2.50.)

It would seem that the trend toward cultural history is gaining momentum and it is especially encouraging to note that in the midst of the present military atmosphere, young historians are able to contribute scholarly studies dealing with the arts and the humanities. In this respect, Mr. Bowes' monograph on early Charleston is typical.

The author begins his story at a time when Charleston was only a frontier settlement inhabited by a handful of Englishmen and Barbadians. After a ten-year struggle with disease at the original site on the Ashley River, the settlement was moved to a more healthful tract overlooking the fine harbor formed by the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper rivers. At this time (1680) Charleston numbered only seven hundred people; but during the next twenty years a profitable export trade in deerskins, furs, timber, and food products stimulated a more rapid growth. By the end of the century the town was emerging from its frontier status and its future prospects were promising enough to attract many families from England, Ireland, Barbadoes, and Jamaica. At the turn of the century (1700) travelers described the Carolina port as "a flourishing community."

Mr. Bowes continues with more substantial evidence than the glib words of travelers to show that Charleston began to take on a more permanent and urbanized character during the first decades of the eighteenth century. The changes in the early years of the century, however, were more economic and political than cultural. The West Indian trade increased, the production of naval stores became more important, rice was developed as a commercial staple, and the colony was brought under the immediate supervision of the British Crown.

By 1730 the process of political and commercial stabilization was complete and the city was aware "of the dawning golden day of Carolina culture." Rice



planters and wealthy merchants, having firmly established the economic foundation of the colony, now turned their attention to the arts and sciences and found time for philosophical speculation, for gracious entertainment, and for sports. According to the author, Charleston offered a variety of entertainment. There were gentlemen's clubs, well provisioned taverns, horse races, and cock fights.

It is evident, too, that Charlestonians developed a taste for the theater and local critics declared that the drama was the best patronized of all the arts. While theatrical performances had occurred as early as 1703 it was not until 1735 that the city enjoyed its first formal dramatic season. Probably the most important actor-manager to appear in Charleston was David Douglass. His repertory was large and up-to-date and he imported his scenery and some of his best performers direct from London. In 1773 Douglass constructed what was considered an elegant theater. The initial season at this new house "was incomparably the most brilliant season in the annals of the colonial stage." Seventy-seven plays, farces, and operas were presented to enthusiastic audiences.

The author indicates that music was a close rival of the theater with many of the Charleston aristocrats. Organ recitals and programs of instrumental music were well received and the town had more than its share of music teachers. Very little original music was composed, however, and apparently Charlestonians worshipped humbly at the classic temple of English literature and art. This habit of borrowing literature tended to discourage native writers, although a few essayists and poets appeared who used Pope, Addison, Swift, and Milton as models. This tendency to look to England for precedents and models was equally true in art and education.

*The Culture of Early Charleston* is a concise, objectively written, and well-organized monograph which contributes materially to our knowledge of American urban society. The value of the study is enhanced by an interesting appendix and suggestive bibliography.

Transylvania College

F. GARVIN DAVENPORT

*The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763-1789.* By Freeman H. Hart. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942. Pp. xii, 223. Illustrations, maps, bibliography. \$3.50.)

For so small an area, the Valley of Virginia played a remarkably significant part in American Revolutionary history. With clearly marked geographical borders, the Valley had developed a distinctive civilization and differed from the other six sections of Virginia of that day—Tidewater, Piedmont, and Southside on the one hand, and Trans-Alleghany, Southwest, and Kentucky on the other. Its inhabitants consisted of the Scotch-Irish and Germans who had come down from Pennsylvania, together with smaller numbers of English, Negroes, and others. In religion the spirit of the region was one of dissent, with Pres-

byterians, Lutherans, Mennonites, and Baptists in the lead. The majority of the people were small farmers and, just as in other frontier communities, one of the chief problems was that of getting their goods to market. Much of the trade was with Pennsylvania, but there was increasing contact with the ports in Tidewater Virginia, especially Alexandria. In the years before the Revolution the people of the Valley had little grievance against the eastern part of the province, so that there was no east-west sectional controversy such as the Regulator movement in North Carolina. A dozen years of warfare with the Indians tried the patience of the people, and the efforts of the British government to check the westward movement did not sit well with them.

"No frontier area of Colonial America surpassed the Valley in its zeal for the Revolutionary movement." Resolutions protesting British policies were passed in 1774 and 1775. From the Valley came Washington, Charles Lee, Horatio Gates, Andrew Lewis, Daniel Morgan, and other leaders of the American cause. A large number of men and substantial quantities of supplies were furnished to the American armies, and there was particular interest in the George Rogers Clark expedition to the Illinois country. Opposition to the war was of minor importance.

After the war the Valley, like the remainder of America, faced difficult problems of readjustment. The frontiersman had expected certain advantages from independence and was disappointed when peace brought economic adversity and burdensome taxes. Representation in the assembly was unfair, and debtors were so pressed that there was an "embryonic Shays rebellion," a movement led by one Black Matthews, which was easily suppressed. And yet the Valley opposed new issues of paper money, feeling that they would be dishonest and a menace to morals, and also stood for the payments of the debts to British merchants. Under the influence of John Witherspoon, notable Presbyterian president of the College of New Jersey, the movement for complete religious liberty found strong support in the Valley, and, with Madison in the lead, resulted in the enactment by the Virginia legislature of a bill providing for religious *liberty*, rather than mere *toleration*. Toward the end of the 1780's trade grew, new roads were constructed, plans were considered for improving the navigation of the Potomac and the James, the first newspapers were established, several academies were founded, and in general the section recovered from the post-war depression.

While most parts of the frontier were opposed to the new Federal Constitution, the Valley of Virginia was overwhelmingly favorable. The Scotch-Irish and German pioneers, strongly influenced by Calvinistic theology and morality, believed in religion, education, and reward for individual effort, and therefore were in favor of a stable government. This attitude of the Valley was extremely important in view of the fact that the other six sections of Virginia opposed ratification by a vote of seventy-nine to seventy-five. But the Valley cast its fourteen votes solidly for ratification, with the result that the Old Dominion

avored the new Union by a vote of eighty-nine to seventy-nine. Had the Valley taken the opposite position, Virginia would not have ratified and the entire course of American history might have been altered.

The book is a welcome addition to works on American Revolutionary history. Based on careful research, it makes good reading and is a credit both to the author and to the University of North Carolina Press.

North Carolina Department of  
Archives and History

CHARLES C. CRITTENDEN

*Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina.* By Richard Barry. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1942. Pp. ix, 430. Frontispiece, facsimiles, bibliography. \$3.75.)

To the student of American colonial and national history the career of John Rutledge (1739-1800) is important. This is attested by reciting the public offices so well administered by him. At the age of twenty-one he was elected to the commons house of assembly of South Carolina. He served as a delegate from that colony to the Stamp Act Congress and to the First and Second Continental congresses. Following membership in the provisional congress of his colony, he became first president of the Republic of South Carolina, second governor of that state and, in 1784, chancellor justice. He headed South Carolina's delegation to the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia. Appointed senior Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court he soon resigned to become chief justice of the Supreme Court of his state. When in 1795 he was nominated as Chief Justice of the United States, the Senate for political reasons rejected the nomination. The long public career ended, as it had begun, with membership in the South Carolina assembly.

Richard Barry's claims for his subject are extreme. It was the congressional memorial, drafted by "JR," which "caused George III to repeal the Stamp Act" (p. 379). It was JR, along with Samuel Adams, who engineered the congressional choice of George Washington as commander-in-chief of the Continental Army. It was JR who devised the strategy employed by the armies defending Charles Town in 1780 and, more successfully, by that of General Nathanael Greene. It was JR who, more than any single delegate to the convention, shaped the Constitution of the United States; in drafting that document he exercised caution not "to define the powers of the Supreme Court too carefully" (p. 350). In this connection the reviewer deems appropriate a quotation from an anecdote repeated by the author: "'It may be quite true, as you say. Dictator John did many remarkable things, but . . .'" These claims and many others made by Mr. Barry are matters of interpretation concerning which historians have differed and will continue to differ.

According to his publishers, "Mr. Barry, a former newsman, a novelist and playwright . . . devoted five years to research" on John Rutledge. Citations in the bibliography lack completeness, uniformity, and, in some instances, exactness. This and the absence of footnotes are in part offset by "Notes and Sources," a section in which points of view and source materials for each chapter are discussed at some length. The index is inadequate. The proof-reading was lax. Strangely, the author neglects to mention that in 1785 Rutledge was unanimously elected by the Continental Congress as minister plenipotentiary to the United Netherlands and that he declined to accept owing to the state of "his own affairs" (Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, XXIX, 497, 654-55).

The National Archives

W. NEIL FRANKLIN

*Jefferson Himself: The Personal Narrative of a Many-Sided American.* Edited by Bernard Mayo. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942. Pp. xv, 384. Bibliography, illustrations. \$4.00.)

It is very evident that the editor of this volume chose a task that was congenial to him. The sub-title, "The Personal Narrative of a Many-Sided American" describes well the contents. The matter selected from Jefferson's writings is divided into sixteen chapters, for each of which an appropriate heading is furnished. The original matter presented reveals the outstanding activities, theories, and convictions of the great Virginia liberal through the years of his long life. Dr. Mayo has prefaced each of his chapters with a brief introduction. These introductions are modest, preliminary summaries. They are not interpretations, and they were obviously not intended to be critical in any sense. They do furnish a setting for the reader and prepare him for the study of the story as told by Jefferson.

It would not have been difficult for any earnest student of history to find and read most of the material included, but few have ever gone to that trouble. Each student, as a rule, turns to the writings of Jefferson for material which will throw light on his own particular subject of investigation, rather than to read extensively. The value of the present volume lies in the fact that it constitutes a sort of unfolding autobiography that has continuity and unity and which can be read in its entirety by both historical students and general readers. Surely any intelligent person interested in the founding and early history of the American nation will find enjoyment and profit in following through the story of Jefferson's career as set forth by himself. It is to be hoped that hosts will make use of the opportunity now provided, including numerous reactionary public characters who persist in claiming that they are true Jeffersonians. A careful reading of the book will go far towards convincing the most skeptical that Jefferson was not only a many-sided man, but also a critical reader, an

original thinker, and a keen observer. He was likewise a man who estimated contemporaries and interpreted passing events with refreshing cleverness and freedom from conventional modes of thinking. Let anyone who questions this statement read *Jefferson Himself* without bias.

Dr. Mayo is to be commended for his desire to permit readers to think for themselves, but perhaps he should have written somewhat more critically when preparing his chapter introductions. It is not an easy task to deal briefly with the many events and problems connected with a considerable period. Even a capable and conscientious investigator can easily fail to check some of his many statements with sufficient care. In his introduction to Chapter IX, the editor failed to call attention to Jefferson's confused statements in regard to the passage of the funding measure. This confusion should have been noted or excerpts from Jefferson's contemporary letters should have been presented instead of matter from a later source. The funding measure did not become a law until late in July, 1790, when it passed both houses with a rider providing for the assumption of the debts of the states. The statement that the "Congressional session of 1801-2 successfully translated political promises into realities" occurs in the introduction to Chapter XIII. Since the legislation of this session was negative in character and rather meager, the assertion that it enacted into law a "program of peace, economy and reform" already planned by Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin seems over-strong. The term "industrial revolution" does not appear in the index for the reason no doubt that Jefferson said little about it. It does seem, however, that what he did say should be fully quoted and adequately stressed.

By raising these questions, the reviewer does not mean to imply that Dr. Mayo has not done a fine piece of work. He deserves the thanks not only of students of history who are interested in Jefferson but of all thoughtful men and women the world over who want to obtain a better understanding of a great man who remained a true liberal to the last hour of his life.

Indiana University

WILLIAM O. LYNCH

*John Jacobus Flournoy, Champion of the Common Man in the Ante-Bellum South.* By E. Merton Coulter. (Savannah: The Georgia Historical Society, 1942. Pp. vii, 112. Bibliography. \$2.00.)

John Jacobus Flournoy spent most of his long life in the neighborhood of Athens, Georgia. He entered the world in 1808 as the son of a prosperous planter; died in 1879 a lonely, impoverished recluse who was regarded by his neighbors as very cranky if not insane. There was much to support this opinion. He championed all manner of unpopular and crazy causes; he proclaimed himself a Christian reformer but was often engaged in lawsuits, quarrels, and brawls. Once he escaped serious injury from an opponent's knife because, the

weather being cold, he was wearing eleven thicknesses of clothing. His appearance was such that children fled from him. His long grey hair and whiskers were unshorn, he wore a rubber overcoat at all seasons, and his steed was a little donkey. On at least one occasion he agreed with popular opinion about his mental state and committed himself for a short time to a lunatic asylum.

As a reformer he was greatly handicapped because he was as "deaf as a white oak post" and was unable to speak distinctly. Learning by humiliating experiences that he could not influence men by the spoken word he took up his pen—"a tremendous pen" he came to believe—and urged his causes through Georgia newspapers and in pamphlets. He advocated woman suffrage, championed the peace movement, and posed as an authority on phrenology. In the nullification controversy he upheld the Union cause with much good sense. He wrote with compassion for the Indians when Georgia was forcing them westward. He urged the establishment of a state-supported school for the deaf and dumb and of a college for the poor where no language would be taught except English. Among his more unique inventions were "Flournoy's Medical Head Band" (a specific against the common cold), and the doctrines of Trigamy and Expulsion. Trigamy, of course, was simply an advancement over bigamy, but he regarded his idea as highly original and scripturally sound. Nor did he ever publicly renounce it, even though he came to believe that he had suffered much from women. The first Mrs. Flournoy, for example, refused to allow a thirteen-year old rival to stay on the place, and her successors were unfaithful and so very extravagant that he gave public notice that he would not be responsible for their debts and explained in some detail why he had been driven to this decision.

Flournoy wanted every Negro to be removed from the United States; this was the goal of Expulsion. He was vague as to means, but precise enough in explaining why expulsion should be practiced. He disliked Negroes, he feared that their continuance in the nation would result in civil war and racial amalgamation, and he wanted to improve the lot of white mechanics, laborers, and small farmers. Here, as well as in his writings about education and on other topics, Flournoy was speaking for the common man, and he knew that he was shaking a hornet's nest. "It is known [he wrote in 1835] that I candidly sow seeds of disaffection in the penurious against the opulent."

It is of some significance, as Professor Coulter observes, that Flournoy's freedom to write often and bluntly on unpopular subjects suffered no abridgment. And it is valuable, as Professor Coulter likewise observes, to know what a champion of the common man had to say at this time and place in history. If only Flournoy had been less of a psychiatric case he could be regarded as a more authentic spokesman for the common folk, but in that event this biography would have been less entertaining. It is a most amusing book, and among its

good qualities is the fact that Professor Coulter has abstained from over-expanding Flournoy's historical importance.

Duke University

CHARLES S. SYDNOR

*The Free Produce Movement: A Quaker Protest against Slavery.* By Ruth Ketting Nuernberger. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1942. Pp. ix, 147. Appendix, bibliography. \$1.00.)

During recent years there has been an increasing tendency to study abolitionism in its many and varied aspects. In dealing with a neglected phase of the abolition movement, the volume under review is in line with that tendency.

*The Free Produce Movement* is the story of the attempt to strike at the slaveholding regime by a boycott upon the products of slave labor. Since free produce societies had a membership of only about fifteen hundred and probably not more than five or six thousand people tried to purchase free labor goods, it is obvious that the movement was not very successful. There are several reasons assigned for its lack of success. Despite efforts which included within their scope many parts of the world, the proponents of this plan were not successful in obtaining materials which had no connection with slave labor. The manufacture of the scanty raw materials at hand was beset with difficulties, and the stores which handled the products faced the almost insuperable handicap of having to offer to the public an inferior product at an unfavorable price. Many abolitionists came to regard the whole idea as futile, and some of them felt that they were the very people who were entitled to the fruits of the toil of those whose freedom they sought. The Quakers, who came to dominate the movement, encountered dissension within their own ranks concerning some phases of it. The author feels that the plan proposed was sound, but that it "failed because it made too heavy an economic demand on the individual" (p. 114). This attitude is well reflected in the words of Lucretia Mott as quoted in the volume: ". . . unfortunately free sugar was not always as free from other taints as from that of slavery; and free calicoes could seldom be called handsome, even by the most enthusiastic; free umbrellas were hideous to look upon, and free candies, an abomination" (p. 99).

The author has performed well a difficult task. For the subject there was scarcely a starting point in general historical literature, and yet she has pieced together, from a variety of widely scattered sources, a well knit and informative volume. She has given at least some significance to names which history has hardly recorded or recorded not at all. Among such names are those of Samuel Rhoads, Nathan Thomas, and the better known George W. Taylor—the last the subject of an entire chapter. The work does not confine its treatment of Quakers solely to their relation to the free produce movement, but touches briefly upon their attitude toward slavery in general. The movement was prob-

ably not formidable enough to encounter serious opposition from those whose business interests were closely connected with the products of slave labor. At least such opposition is not recorded. The volume is free from errors, and contains a good index. It includes an appendix in which detailed information is given concerning free produce societies and stores.

Ohio State University

HENRY H. SIMMS

*Simon Cameron: Ante-Bellum Years.* By Lee F. Crippen. (Oxford, Ohio: The Mississippi Valley Press, 1942. Pp. xiii, 318. Bibliography. \$3.50.)

To many Americans the name Simon Cameron carries an invidious connotation. He is generally remembered as the founder of the Pennsylvania Republican machine, for his role in Lincoln's nomination in 1860, and for his brief tenure as Secretary of War in 1861. Professor Crippen has carefully investigated Cameron's public career within self-imposed limits. Only a few highlights of the narrative can be here indicated. Completing his business and political apprenticeship by 1845, Cameron adroitly won the United States senatorship in that year. This episode terminated the lengthy Cameron-Buchanan entente, and subsequently the men became bitter enemies. Friendly to Polk save on tariff and patronage matters, but suspect as a Democrat, he failed of re-election in 1849. Extensive business interests occupied him in the 1850's, although his later famous son Don relieved him of many business details.

Shifting party alignments after 1854 found Cameron, a mild anti-slavery man, active in the formative years of the Republican party, a fact which paved the way for his re-election to the Senate in 1857. A conscientious senator, his central objectives were the adoption of the protective tariff and the upbuilding of the Republican party in Pennsylvania. A Seward supporter in 1860, Cameron became his state's favorite son candidate at Chicago, and some believed that, if the Pennsylvanians held firm, he had an excellent chance to receive the nomination—a belief not shared by Cameron. The old story of a deal between Lincoln's managers and Cameron men is repeated (p. 216), but Professor Crippen believes that even if true there were other plausible reasons for Cameron's appointment to Lincoln's cabinet (pp. 242-43).

It is significant to note that Cameron, representative *par excellence* of northern industrial and financial interests, assumed a conciliatory attitude in the crisis of 1860-1861. As senator he favored the Crittenden Compromise with modifications, and desired the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line (pp. 228-29). This confirms recent research which has placed capitalists and business men on the side of peace and compromise in the days before Fort Sumter. Also worthy of note is President-elect Lincoln's vacillation, under pressure, in the matter of Cameron's cabinet appointment (pp. 236-43).



Professor Crippen has produced a fair-minded appraisal of the ante-bellum career of a controversial figure, based upon painstaking research in manuscripts, documents, newspapers, memoirs, and other sources, many of them previously unexploited. The book will be useful to scholars, and it is not likely soon to be superseded. There are, however, certain less favorable aspects of the work to be considered. Frequent petty errors, typographical and otherwise, have been allowed to appear. A more serious cause for criticism is the fact that nowhere in the volume does Simon Cameron the human being clearly emerge. Moreover, the author does not seem to probe deeply into Cameron's manipulations and his masterly management of men. At various times Cameron was charged with corruption, fraud, and bribery. The author justly disposes of many misstatements and of the wilder charges against Cameron, but does not reach a conclusion concerning the "truth or fallacy in the opprobrium heaped upon him" (p. 242). Perhaps he could not do so, because, as Cameron's enemies often found, it was difficult to prove a case against him. Thus, in the absence of documentary proof, the historian must render the verdict "not proved." Finally, it may be hoped that Professor Crippen can supplement his substantial achievement with a second volume on the war and post-war years, in order that we may have a complete story of the ninety-one years of Simon Cameron and his America.

Washington and Lee University

OLLINGER CRENSHAW

*The Standard of Living in 1860: American Consumption Levels on the Eve of the Civil War.* By Edgar W. Martin. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. vi, 451. Tables, appendices. \$4.50.)

In this work the economic historian offers a monograph with a limited topical and chronological focus based upon the use of other monographs and of treatises rather than upon the exhaustive use of source material. The foregoing statement does not ignore a considerable sampling of contemporary documentary and journalistic sources and of the more important travel accounts—with Thomas C. Grattan's name consistently misspelled. Shifting from the prevailing emphasis in economic history upon the people as producers, the author undertakes to view the occupants of the American scene on the eve of the Civil War in their role as consumers. Defining three geographical areas, "the North, the South, and the Frontier," and differentiating between the lot of the "well-to-do" and that of the "poor" or laboring class, he studies the various factors—food, housing, clothing, health, and leisure—that entered into the standard of living of these component elements.

The range of food costs in the budget of a typical family varied from something over thirty per cent in the case of a reasonably prosperous urban family to one-half of the income of the ordinary city or farm family. The various items of food and drink are analyzed in terms, not of the purchases of family units

but of prevailing supplies, tastes, and habits revealed in surviving sources. Perhaps the degree of addiction to the use of ice that had developed by 1860 will be surprising to the average reader. The reviewer is not sure that the rising popularity of lager beer is fully indicated in the text.

In such a study the work of the economic historian finds a meeting-point with that of the social historian, for the author covers a wide range of material. Housing covers styles of architecture and of interior decoration—it is a pity that the work does not include the contemporary picture of Abraham Lincoln's Springfield home and its furnishings, as presented in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. It also includes board and lodging in a day when American families seemed increasingly to be utilizing the resources of large boarding-houses and still more mammoth hotels—despite the fact that the later "American" institution, the passenger elevator, was to be found in 1860 in none of the former and in only two of the latter. Clothing includes the increasing addiction to stylistic forces, especially those emanating from Paris, and the beginnings of the cosmetic urge. Medical care—rather than cost—is surveyed, if not from the cradle, at least to the grave, with increasing public health forces included in the picture. The agencies of transportation and communication and the costs of travel are depicted. "Education, Reading and the Church" furnishes the title for one of the chapters, followed by one on "Leisure and Recreation." The author admits in his introduction that he has included "more material on leisure and its uses than would be justified by its place in the family budget" (p. 9). Finally, true to his *Fach*, he offers a twelve page concluding chapter summarizing, with tables, the factors that entered into the standard of living in 1860. For good measure he adds a series of appendices giving statistical data on population, incomes, food prices, housing costs, and the like.

On the whole the work is a most useful compilation. It does not undertake in any large or real sense to indicate the broader forces making for historical change or evolution. Students of southern history will be especially interested in the units dealing with life in Dixie and with the accounts of sectional differences in living habits.

Western Reserve University

ARTHUR C. COLE

*The Hidden Civil War: The Story of the Copperheads.* By Wood Gray. (New York: The Viking Press, 1942. Pp. 314. Illustrations, maps, bibliography. \$3.75.)

*The Hidden Civil War* offers no helpful hints to isolationists who may hope to secrete a war. The title derives from historians' neglect of the Lincoln administration's struggle against subversive activities within the loyal states and not from a contemporary northern unawareness of that struggle. In this chronicle of northern discord, Professor Gray tells of the sanguine hopes of early days, the

rise of defeatism in the wake of military reverses, and the subsequent resort by "peace men" to various devices for ending the war. They pamphleteered and electioneered, railed and rallied, bribed and bludgeoned; they discouraged bond sales, obstructed the draft, encouraged desertion, and by themselves or with Confederates conspired to free prisoners of war from northern camps and to stage raids in northern territory. They harped on the futility of efforts to conquer the South, the hollowness of coerced allegiance, the perversion of the war into an abolition crusade, the despotism of the administration, the outpouring of blood and wealth, and the horrors of a black inundation. They worked through party organizations, through the press, and through secret societies, and in numbers and enthusiasm that rose and fell with tidings from the front. The ablest of their leaders was Vallandigham, of Ohio; and their stronghold was the Middle West. With the re-election of Lincoln in 1864 the "movement" collapsed—and slithered into hiding.

Professor Gray tells his story directly and intelligently. The care with which he has organized his materials is apparent on almost every page. His documentation is painstaking and complete: the references alone fill forty-nine pages. The bibliography is extensive, including many Copperhead pamphlets and nearly one hundred and fifty midwestern newspapers. No histories of journalism are included, although they contain much that is pertinent, especially the old one by Frederic Hudson and the recent one by Professor Frank L. Mott. An exploration into constitutional law should have invited attention to the Vallandigham habeas corpus trial and should have prevented the correct but not altogether honest statement that Milligan in his suit for damages "was awarded a paltry \$5" (p. 221). A curious omission from the list of biographies is the only book-length life of the leading Copperhead, Vallandigham's *Life of Clement L. Vallandigham*.

Many students of the Civil War will hope to see their favorite Copperheads in leading roles, only to find them peeking from behind the scenes, or perhaps nowhere in sight. More reasonably, they may be annoyed at the neatness of the time-segments—always to the day—which the author has labeled "Impatience," "Despair," "Victory," etc., characterizations which, by the way, apply not to the fortunes or sentiments of the Copperheads in this "Story of the Copperheads," but to those of the war supporters. Other students may doubt the author's fundamental objectivity after his declaration that, as of November, 1860, "compromise or acquiescence in disunion would be equally fatal to American nationality." This fact, he asserts, "was bound to impress all who were not blinded by prejudice or made insensible by fear" (p. 37). Certain later judgments also are thereby impugned, as, for instance, that most of the leaders of the peace movements "were consciously attempting to mislead the people" when they held out hopes of reunion "short of complete conquest" (p. 124). The reader may suspect that the author is not sure that there is a valid distinction between treason and mere

disbelief in the coercion policy. While it is clear that only traitors could actively promote subversive activities, it should be equally clear that patriotic northerners could believe that coercion was ill-advised and that within limits they could work for peace without victory. Such men would hardly appear importantly in this study, but that they were present and that they could be honorable men is proved by Gerard Hallock and George Lunt, to mention only two.

Review readers who relish a bit of cavil may enjoy these crumbs: Railroad mileage in the United States in 1860 was 30,000 rather than 10,000 (p. 17); two typographical slips (pp. 31, 44); Boabdils for Bobadils (p. 32); while definitely coercionist in 1861, the Cincinnati *Times* was not Republican but Constitutional Unionist, or at least it was during the campaign of 1860 (p. 66); Port Gibson is written for Port Hudson (p. 81); Wisconsin is described as "a neighboring state" of Ohio (p. 151); the Philadelphia *Pennsylvanian* was hardly Copperhead, for it ceased publication before the firing on Fort Sumter (p. 214); Tichnor for Ticknor (p. 283).

It is mingled good and bad fortune for Professor Gray and George Fort Milton that their studies of the Copperheads—the first full-length studies ever to appear—should come off the press at the same time. Both have narrated well the same neglected chapter in American history, each in his own way and with his own strength and weakness. Mr. Milton is a veteran stylist who never forgets that his notes may be wine or water; consequently, *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column* makes better reading than this first book of Professor Gray's. Moreover, the perspective is broader, the account of the secret military societies is better integrated, and the picture of the national scene is clearer. *The Hidden Civil War*, on the other hand, is more informative on public and newspaper opinion, on obstructionism outside the secret societies, and on local politics in the Midwest. Mr. Milton's book carries no documentation, and his bibliography is worthless to scholars. He did, however, examine a mass of documents which he does not list. The gentle reader may prefer his volume, but the serious student will do better to read both.

Bradley Polytechnic Institute

HOWARD C. PERKINS

*The Attitude of the Northern Clergy toward the South, 1860-1865.* By Chester Forrester Dunham. (Toledo: The Gray Company, 1942. Pp. xi, 258. Bibliography. \$3.50.)

This "clerico-political study" attempts, by the sample method, to portray the attitudes of the northern clergy toward the South during and immediately following the Civil War and to suggest the influence of these clergymen on public opinion. The author has compiled a great number of quotations which he uses copiously to illustrate the entrance of politics into religion, the "rising tide of social action," the condemnation of the southern way of life, the "Holy Cru-

sade," and the northern ministers' ideas of war guilt, peace terms, and the rebuilding of the nation. He has neither arranged them well nor has he adequately accomplished the stated purpose of the book.

Although it is an established fact that northern clergymen were prominent in the radical abolition movement of the 1830's, this is not noted by Dunham. Slavery had long been denounced from the pulpits, but this study would lead one to believe that it was not a permitted pulpit topic until about 1855. The author shows that during the decade prior to the war many northern clergymen were attempting to crystallize public opinion against slavery; there were frequent violent outbursts against the South and its way of life. On the other hand, some ministers refrained from sectional and institutional controversies, while still others did not hesitate to voice their southern leanings.

The samples presented seem to indicate that a great number of the northern ministers favored the action of John Brown but were willing to let the South "depart in peace." With the opening of hostilities at Fort Sumter, however, there was a violent reversal of sentiment and vitriolic politico-clericals called for a "Holy Crusade" against the region of barbarous slavocracy. As the prosecution of the war moved toward a successful conclusion, the northern clergy became less vindictive. The assassination of Lincoln (given here as February 14) brought forth new accusations and demands for "justice." Exile, hanging, confiscation of property, military occupation for twenty-five years, and complete annihilation of the southern religion were all proposed. Although it was felt that the great masses of the South had been duped by their leaders, they were, nevertheless, to be subjected to all but the harshest of these penalties. There were still individuals who advocated moderation, but, as in many periods of crisis, they were not heeded. Those who had always maintained their southern leanings must have passed into the group opposing Radical Reconstruction. An evaluation or "suggestion" of the role of the various groups in the passage of the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 would have been enlightening.

This book might have been an excellent study; much laborious research was done, but the organization and presentation of material are far inferior to that of most published dissertations. Many intriguing questions are asked by the author, and most of them are left unanswered. Only forty-six of the two hundred forty pages of text do not have indented quotations; many pages are made up entirely of quotations, indicating a failure or unwillingness to grasp fully the content and significance of the material at hand. A geographic grouping of ministerial attitudes might have revealed facts as interesting as the denominational division frequently followed.

The actual mechanics of the book call for additional unfavorable comment. Ministers are introduced by last names and identified several pages later; individuals are referred to as "Dr.," "Rev.," and "Mr.," in the same paragraph; parentheses are used to denote insertions in direct quotations; abbreviations such

as "Mass." and "U.S." appear in the text; passages are summarized and then quoted at length; California Baptists are introduced into the study; six periods are sometimes used for ellipses; footnotes are incorrect; passages are misquoted and incorrectly cited. Two examples of the very poor composition are: "At Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, Dr. Beecher, the pastor, the patriotic offering was eleven hundred dollars" (p. 135); "The name of the minister, the church, and the town are given, Paris, Illinois, a town of 1,930 population in 1860 with twenty-two free negroes" (p. 147).

The bibliography is rather extensive but contains only one manuscript sermon entry; several important secondary works are omitted. The index is workable.

Historical Division, Army Air Forces

CHASE C. MOONEY

*Old Thad Stevens: A Story of Ambition.* By Richard Nelson Current. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1942. Pp. v, 344. Illustrations, bibliography. \$3.00.)

This life of Stevens, offered by the author as a more "complete" and "better balanced view" than any previous study, "is based on a careful reinterpretation of source material already familiar to historians and on a thorough exploration of other material hitherto unused and much of it hitherto unknown." If perhaps this promise suggests too much to the expectant reader he may nevertheless be content to have a well written book of reasonable length that is scholarly and realistic, if not definitive. No new and startling facts emerge. Moreover, the reinterpretation is one of degree rather than kind. It reminds one of Claude G. Bowers' graphic portrait, though it is much more fully developed, and it confirms Allan Nevins' appraisal in the *Dictionary of American Biography*: "Had tolerance and magnanimity been added to his character, he [Stevens] might have been a brilliant instead of a sinister figure in American history."

For many years James A. Woodburn's *Life of Thaddeus Stevens* (1913) remained the standard. It was wholly sympathetic, and reached the conclusion that Stevens "brought to his country's service learning and eloquence, firmness of will, directness and tenacity of purpose, the noblest courage, and a fine and consuming scorn and contempt for evasion and hypocrisy and the low arts of political tricksters. He was an unrelenting foe to every form of tyranny over the minds of men. He was a man of great mind and clear vision . . ." Even more charitable was the work of Thomas F. Woodley (1934, 1937), offered as a "balanced portrait," with Stevens to be judged in the light of "authenticated facts." Stevens' clubfoot was found to have "supplied the most profoundly moving forces of his being." The biography by Alphonse B. Miller (1939) was more journalism than history and leaned to the great statesman theory; it was

distinguished by many a pungent phrase and adroitly chosen adjective. Miller was "not afforded the opportunity," enjoyed by Professor Current, of examining the Woodley collection of Stevens manuscripts.

The present biographer would abjure eulogy and invoke realism. He finds Stevens a hard-bitten politician consumed by personal ambition, hating his enemies with a fanatical intensity, and driving forward by sheer will power and clever parliamentary tactics a program born of hate and vengeance rather than broad statesmanship. He finds him also a man of contradictions. Born of a tippling father and a hymn-singing mother, Stevens scorned liquor and denied the church. With a passion for democracy, popular education, and the common man, he hated Andrew Jackson as much as he loved Biddle and the Bank. A man who revered property, himself an industrialist who could find nothing good in the Republican platform of 1860 except the tariff plank, he was a "greenbacker" and never a "sound money" man. Lacking "the humanitarian impulse," he posed as an egalitarian and the uplifter of the Negro race. A man "wholly devoid of personal charm," with almost no intimate friends, and with personal habits not calculated to endear him to the people, he sought and won a degree of political power few have attained. Excluded by Harrison and Lincoln from the cabinet and denied the senatorship from his adopted state, he served out his years in the House where he was feared rather than loved. A bitter tongue and a keen, sardonic humor effectively concealed any tender emotions he may have possessed. He never married, and his affection for his colored housekeeper may be exaggerated on the single evidence that he left her five hundred dollars a year for life.

Two quotations summarize the author's findings: "A sponsor of public education, a champion (albeit half-hearted at times) of the free Negro and the slave, a foe of the exclusive Freemasonic Lodge, Stevens could claim the votes of freedom-loving common men. Friend of bankers both great and small, railroad president and ironmaster, gambler in real estate, defender of business interests in the law courts and out, scourge of economic radicals and apologist for existing social inequalities in the North, he demonstrated that he was nevertheless no dangerous demagogue but a statesman at heart." At the end Old Thad's body was carried to a graveyard that drew no color line and he was buried under his own epitaph: Equality of man before his Creator. "Equality of man! None had done more than he to bring on the Age of Big Business, with its concentration of wealth and its diffusion of poverty, its inequalities and its inequities, which were beginning to trouble the nation even before the fresh sod had turned green again upon his unpretentious grave."

*Old Man River: The Memories of Captain Louis Rosché, Pioneer Steamboatman.* By Robert A. Hereford. (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1942. Pp. 301. Illustrations, bibliography. \$3.50.)

Robert A. Hereford of the St. Louis Bureau of the International News Service took notes on his frequent conversations with Captain Louis Rosché, an old time riverman, and these notes have been woven into the book, *Old Man River*. The author-editor showed good judgment in checking the old riverman's tales against contemporary records to distinguish fact from fiction. He made good use of collections in the St. Louis and Missouri State Historical libraries. The result is a fascinating story of post-Civil War steamboating. All of the lusty elements of the river are here, including a realistic historical dissertation in Negro dialect on the exploits of Mike Fink, Jim Wilson, and their wild associates. To this reviewer, however, the colorful stories of the roustabout Snowball sound amazingly like those contained in the writings of T. B. Thorpe, David Crockett, Timothy Flint, Emerson Bennett, Franklin Meine, and Otto A. Rothert.

Captain Rosché's account of his experience of running the Federal blockade with food for Jeff Thompson's rag-tag-and-bob-tail Arkansas swamp army is a good eyewitness account of starving Confederate troops. His vessel was fired upon, and Rosché was taken prisoner; and for a short time he saw the war from the other side. Later he saw Jeff Thompson surrender to Colonel C. W. Davis at two places, Wittsburg and Jacksonport. General Jeff was doing things properly in his surrender; he was not in favor of a token submission.

The old riverman is at his best when he is recalling the old days of steamboat races and of the gold rushes. He had several hair-raising experiences along the upper reaches of the Missouri River where he saw civilization infiltrate the wilderness. Among the strong characters who helped push back the forest and the Indians was a fantastic French woman known as Madame Moustache. The Madame's fame was as broad as the upper frontier, and she was a past master at *vingt-et-un*, or, as it was more aptly described, "a young man's ruination." Louis Rosché had \$200.00 which burned holes in his pockets until he took the Madame on for a little game. In a very few moments he was drinking a glass of milk on the house, and was shown the way back to his boat—a chastened, bankrupt steamboatman.

Captain Rosché recalled with vividness the finish of the famous race between the *Natchez* and the *Robert E. Lee*. He thought it a fine race, but not equal to that between the *Frank Pargoud*, the pride of the South, and the *Dexter*, a "snowdigger" from up river. He repeats first-hand the old stories of firing with fat meat, and of weighting down pop valves until boilers let go with devastating effects.

*Old Man River* is frankly the memoirs of a riverman whose affection for the subject grew with the years. Robert Hereford has succeeded in organizing,



checking, and presenting a highly readable document of life on the river. Captain Rosché did not possess the literary ability of the author of *Life on the Mississippi*, but the mud in his shoes, experiences with lady passengers, and the nostalgic appreciation of "that certain something" about a steamboat whistle are just as genuine.

Many of the stories are no more than fanciful yarns of an old man who loved the river, but there is much meat in the text. There is a brief bibliography but no index.

University of Kentucky

THOMAS D. CLARK

*Land Hunger: David L. Payne and the Oklahoma Boomers.* By Carl Coke Rister. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942. Pp. xiii, 245. Illustrations, maps, bibliography. \$2.75.)

The words "land hunger" in a large measure characterize the American frontier from first to last. In the opening of Oklahoma, the last free land in the rainbelt, to white settlement we see accentuated the perennial struggle between Indians and whites. Here the United States government made its first real stand against white intruders on the Indian domain. For a century the whites had violated Indian treaties at will. Regularly the land hungry squatted on land to which Indian rights had not been extinguished or which had not been surveyed and opened to settlement. Unlawful pre-emptors had often been rewarded for their lawlessness by receiving title to the land or the first right to buy it.

Now, for the first time, soldiers were placed along the border to keep out the squatter. The land hungry, called Boomers because of their incessant puffing of the tempting land, were lead by David L. Payne, a native of Indiana and a resident of Kansas. He had been a Federal soldier, a pre-emptor, a homesteader, a town promoter, a sawmill operator, a professional hunter, plainsman, and scout, a member of the legislature, and a captain in the Indian wars. While on military duty in the Indian wars of the 1860's he became interested in the region known as Oklahoma, in the midst of the Indian country. Contending that this region was not owned by Indians, and hence was open to white settlement, he formed a colonizing company and year after year headed colonizing expeditions into the forbidden land. Although the army repeatedly expelled the squatters, Payne sold certificates of his company to hundreds. When interest lagged with continued failure and ejection, he trumped up stories of mineral wealth and promised that land staked out on secret expeditions and recorded by his company would be recognized as pre-emptions when settlement was opened. Arrested, imprisoned, conducted out of the "promised land" again and again, Payne never gave up. He employed the best legal talent available

and sent lobbyists to Washington to bring about the opening of Oklahoma to settlement.

Various factions entered the fray. The railroads joined the Boomers against the Indians and against the big cattle companies which were grazing thousands of head of stock on land leased from the Indians. In the struggle which followed, newspapers of Kansas City, Wichita, and other towns backed the Boomers. Congress finally gave in, extinguished the Indian claims, and opened Oklahoma to settlement after a decade of booming. On the eve of victory Payne died and W. L. Couch succeeded to the leadership of the land seekers; but when Oklahoma was opened, on April 22, 1889, the claims staked out by the Boomers were not recognized as pre-emptions. Probably one hundred thousand prospective buyers rushed into the area to claim the less than twelve thousand quarter sections offered for sale. Some who had eluded the soldiers and had gone in and staked out claims before the date set or who had joined the rush from railroad construction camps in Oklahoma were called "Sooners"; and the government refused to recognize their claims. Such was the case with the claims of Couch and Payne's common law wife, who after a valiant battle of years won, only to lose their claims. Couch also lost his life in the dispute over the claim which he staked out within the limits of the present Oklahoma City. As fate would have it, a forest of oil derricks stands today on the lost claims of the two crusaders for free land.

The author in a measure overlooks the rights of the Indians and cattlemen and tends to make heroes of the Boomer and Sooner. Only one error of fact was noticed—the minimum price of land to the pre-emptor was \$1.25 per acre instead of one dollar. On the whole, however, the volume is an important contribution to frontier history in general and to Great Plains history in particular. It is scholarly, intensely interesting to the casual reader, and invaluable to the student. A bibliography and index add to its value.

Union College

EVERETT DICK

*Flush Production: The Epic of Oil in the Gulf-Southwest.* By Gerald Forbes. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942. Pp. xi, 253. Illustrations, bibliography, map. \$2.75.)

Many books have been written about petroleum and the petroleum industry, but most of them are of a highly technical and specialized character. Few scholarly books have been written about the historical development of the industry and its significance in American life. Because of this fact, one welcomes the appearance of Professor Forbes' *Flush Production: The Epic of Oil in the Gulf-Southwest*. This book provides for the first time a vivid, scholarly, and well-integrated account of the rise and development of the petroleum industry in Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and New Mexico from the

time of the earliest evidences of oil until the present. Based upon a wide and rich variety of source materials skillfully woven together, the volume constitutes an important contribution to the literature on petroleum history.

As in Pennsylvania, petroleum was known in the Gulf-Southwest long before it became commercially important. In drilling for water, people frequently obtained small quantities of petroleum. Others observed oil in springs, skimmed it off, and used it as a lubricant. Indians used it for medicinal purposes. About the time that Colonel E. L. Drake was at work in Titusville, Pennsylvania, others were drilling in Texas, Louisiana, and Kansas. After the completion of Drake's well in 1859 and the initial rush to Oil Creek was over, many Pennsylvania oilmen with their drilling tools and capital migrated to the Gulf-Southwest. While there was considerable prospecting in the 1870's and 1880's, the amount of petroleum produced was negligible. A new era opened, however, on January 11, 1901, with the striking of a well at Spindletop, about three miles from Beaumont, Texas. It shot skyward a six inch stream of oil, blowing out the tools and casing and producing 70,000 to 110,000 barrels of oil a day for nine days, before it was capped. The well precipitated a rush from all parts of the United States, especially on the part of oilmen from western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia. A wild scramble for territory ensued; new companies were organized; and Beaumont became a boom town.

The tremendous strike at Spindletop stimulated drilling throughout the Gulf-Southwest. With the discovery of the Glenn pool in 1905, Oklahoma became an important center and by 1915 led the nation in production. Second in production was Texas. Drilling in Kansas and Louisiana was active but the results were not as sensational nor as great. Paralleling these developments and acting as a powerful stimulus to production was the development and expansion of the automobile industry. New pools, like the Ranger, Wichita Falls, Westbrook, and others, continued to be opened; and by 1928 Texas led in production. In October, 1930, the first well was completed in the East Texas pool, an oil-producing area that was destined to be the greatest in the history of the industry. While the Texas fields developed with magical rapidity, similar events took place in Oklahoma with the opening of the Tonkawa pool in 1921, the Cromwell pool in 1923, and the Oklahoma City pool in 1928. Louisiana had an almost identical development; western Kansas became an important producing center; and in New Mexico, petroleum became the leading industry. Since the consumption of petroleum lagged behind production, prices were severely depressed and oil producers were urged to unite in a movement to reduce production.

Professor Forbes not only traces the historical development of the different fields but also provides illuminating chapters on the scientific advances made in drilling, oil stocks and oil exchanges, the inauguration of governmental control, the development of the natural gas industry, the building of pipe lines, the

development of administrative law on petroleum, the social and economic influences of petroleum, and the folklore of the oil fields.

There is an excellent glossary of oil-field terms, a good bibliography, and an adequate index.

Allegheny College

PAUL H. GIDDENS

*The Tennessee Valley Authority: A Case Study in the Economics of Multiple Purpose Stream Planning.* By Joseph Sirera Ransmeier. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1942. Pp. xx, 486. Map, tables, appendices, bibliography. \$3.00.)

As indicated by its sub-title, this product of the Institute of Research and Training in the Social Sciences, Vanderbilt University, belongs more properly to the field of economics than to the field of history. Nevertheless, it may be described as a study in historical economics and to that extent has considerable significance for the historian. The author's major purpose has been to show the growth of the technique of multiple purpose planning for river improvement and the development of economic theories of joint cost allocation, as exemplified by the program of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Although originally the federal water control policy was confined exclusively to the single purpose of navigation improvement, there has been in recent years a consistently developing trend in favor of more comprehensive planning, including other objectives such as flood control, production of hydro-electric power, and reclamation. This trend has been the result of the obvious economies inherent in such comprehensive development. The author has traced the federal government's policy concerning the Tennessee River system and analyzed the program of the Tennessee Valley Authority from the point of view of multiple purpose stream planning and has come to the conclusion that similar comprehensive plans should be worked out by the national government in co-operation with the states involved for most of the other major drainage basins of the country. He contends, however, that the administration of these projects should be decentralized as it is in the case of the TVA.

A large part of the book is devoted to analyses of the numerous economic theories which have been proposed for allocating the costs of the TVA program among its several objectives, but the author has concluded that none of them is wholly satisfactory or adequate as a basis for rate making. He therefore approves of the decision of the Authority not to use its allocation of costs as a basis for determining the rates to be charged for electric power, and is doubtful of the necessity for figuring out such allocations except for general purposes. Many of the objectives of the program result in benefits which are not susceptible of accurate measurement.

Opponents of federal ownership and operation of water power facilities will find little support for their arguments in this book. The contentions of Wendell Willkie and other representatives of the power companies in their controversies with the TVA are scientifically refuted, and the fears expressed by President Herbert Hoover concerning the "degeneration" involved in a system of public ownership are given scant consideration. Moreover, the author finds little room for private hydro-electric enterprise in the comprehensive, co-ordinated federal water policy which he advocates. It should continue its existence and development, he says, "in so far as it is able to do so consistently with the adopted master plans. But if the requirement of optimum basin improvement is established and maintained the inability of private enterprise to capitalize non-revenue producing benefits probably foreshadows the end of new private construction in the nation's streams."

Dr. Ransmeier has made an important contribution in presenting an analysis of the history and program of the Tennessee Valley Authority from the point of view of a liberal economist, and in calling attention to the changing public attitude toward the problem of full utilization of the nation's water resources.

University of Tennessee

STANLEY J. FOLMSBEE

*The Consolidation of the University of North Carolina.* By David A. Lockmiller. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1942. Pp. xi, 152. Illustrations, bibliography, appendices. \$3.00.)

This study of the consolidation of three of the state-supported institutions of higher education in North Carolina is one that was well worth doing, and it has been well done. The writer, Dr. David A. Lockmiller, now the President of the University of Chattanooga, was the head of the Department of History in one of the institutions concerned and was in intimate contact with the whole process of consolidation and with most of the chief figures in the movement. He is a thoroughly competent historian and quite obviously he had at his disposal the complete details of the entire enterprise. He approached the study from a sympathetic standpoint but apparently without personal bias or prejudice.

The study is all the more valuable because it deals with a problem which has been uppermost in the planning of educational leaders during the past decade—the consolidation of educational forces and the development of regional centers of higher education.

Educational movements of great significance have developed from time to time in North Carolina, movements which have affected beneficially the course of education in the South. At times North Carolina has been the focal point of educational advance. One recalls, for example, the great movement for public education under the leadership of Aycock, Alderman, McIvor, and their co-laborers, some fifty years ago; one recalls the development of a regional

center of higher education in that area, marked by co-operation between Duke University and the University of North Carolina; and, finally, one notes this accomplishment of the consolidation of the three state institutions of higher education. The labors of such men as Governor O. Max Gardner and President Frank P. Graham well deserve to be remembered with the labors of that earlier group of Aycock, Alderman, and McIvor.

Dr. Lockmiller gives a clear picture of the beginnings of this latter movement, led vigorously and effectively by Governor Gardner, with the essential support of President Graham. Without the earnest support and the state-wide prestige of these two men, consolidation could not have been accomplished.

The movement grew out of two factors: first, the advantage from an educational standpoint of consolidation; and second, the economic pressures emanating from the depression, with the consequent need for retrenchment without loss of effective service. Consolidation was one of the major issues before the legislature which met in January, 1931. In his first message, Governor Gardner said: "Our problem is not to concentrate upon the minor maladjustments which may be cured by remedial internal administration. Our problem is rather to view the entire higher educational effort of this State in terms of trends extending over generations and to direct these trends into channels which will prevent waste and insure to the rising generations the best training we can provide. This act makes possible ultimately the united support of North Carolina behind one great, unified, coordinated, and intelligently directed enterprise. No other act of the 1931 General Assembly will have a deeper or more enduring effect on the future of this commonwealth."

The Act of Consolidation created a new "University of North Carolina," consisting of the old University at Chapel Hill, the State College at Raleigh, and the Woman's College at Greensboro, under one Board of Trustees, and one executive. Repercussions were heard throughout the state. The faculties and the alumni at Chapel Hill and Raleigh viewed the proposal with concern and in many cases with great dissatisfaction. As the process of consolidation went on, the discontinuance of the School of Engineering at the old University and the concentration at Chapel Hill apparently did not greatly disturb the supporters of the Woman's College. All other problems of allocation were fairly satisfactorily met. The failure to include all the state supported colleges, such as the teachers' colleges and the colleges for Negroes created considerable discussion, but had little effect on the general movement. There was minor objection to terminology and to the position of local administrators.

The most valuable part of Dr. Lockmiller's study is that in which he shows how the gradual accomplishment of consolidation went forward steadily and effectively during the decade following the passage of the Act of Consoli-

dation. Gradually difficulties were ironed out, and step by step the consolidation of the University of North Carolina has actually been effected. This constitutes a notable phase in the advance of higher education in North Carolina and in the South. Dr. Lockmiller in his study has done a very fine piece of work and has made a real contribution to the history of education.

Randolph-Macon Woman's College

THEODORE H. JACK

## Historical News and Notices

Judging from the inquiries received from members concerning the status of the membership of the Southern Historical Association, it might be of interest to analyze briefly the changes which have occurred during the first quarter of 1943. The report of the Secretary-Treasurer for 1942, published in the February issue, showed a total of 924 active members, of whom 98 were to be dropped on January 1 for non-payment of their 1942 dues. The Association entered 1943, therefore, with 826 active members who were not in arrears. Between January 1 and April 1, death removed two members and 29 resignations were reported; but during the same period 15 new members were added and 16 old members were reinstated upon payment of their back dues, thus leaving the active membership of April 1 at exactly the same total as that of three months earlier. The addition of the 72 exchange subscribers to this number brings the total mailing list for this issue of the *Journal* to 898.

Even more interesting is the fact that the *Journal* goes into all but one of the forty-eight states (Nevada being the exception); into the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico; and into four foreign countries—Canada, Mexico, Cuba, and England. As is to be expected, slightly over 73 per cent of this circulation falls within the region south of the Mason and Dixon line, the Ohio River, and the Missouri Compromise line. Within this region, five states—North Carolina with 70; Virginia with 67; Tennessee with 57; South Carolina with 53; and Georgia with 51—have more than fifty members, and five others—Texas with 49; Alabama and Louisiana with 48 each; Florida with 43; and Mississippi with 40—have forty or more members. Outside the South, the states having the largest membership are: New York with 35 members; Pennsylvania with 23; California with 21; and Illinois with 20.

The decline in active membership indicated above is only one of the ways in which the work of the Association is being affected by war conditions. The inability to hold the annual meeting in 1942, because of the transportation problem, has increased the difficulty of maintaining a stimulating professional intercourse within the ranks, and, incidentally, has reduced the incentive for members to prepare scholarly papers which might be considered for publication in the *Journal*. This problem is intensified by the drawing off of large numbers of the younger and more active members for war service and the increased burdens thus placed upon the older members who serve at home. Of more immediate concern for the *Journal* itself, however, is the growing danger that shortage of materials may force a reduction in its size, and that manpower shortage will make it increasingly difficult for the printers to deliver work on



schedule. Thus it may not be amiss to recall the troubles of frontier newspaper publishers of a century ago, who frequently found it necessary to "crave the indulgence of our patrons if our issues do not always appear on time."

#### PERSONAL

The list of men from southern institutions who are entering active service in the Army or Navy continues to grow at a rapid pace. To those who have been reported previously, the following names should be added at this time: Lynn M. Case, Edward R. Ott, Walter C. Richardson, and Harris G. Warren, of Louisiana State University; Manning J. Dauer, Claude E. Hawley, Ashby E. Hammond, and Orville Quackenbush, of the University of Florida; Barnes F. Lathrop, Truesdell S. Brown, Densil H. Cummins, and Robert D. Little, of the University of Texas; Horace C. Peterson and Alfred B. Sears of the University of Oklahoma; Jack E. Kendrick and Weymouth T. Jordan of Alabama Polytechnic Institute; Charles G. Summersell of the University of Alabama; Howard M. Merriman of George Washington University; Bell I. Wiley of the University of Mississippi; William D. McCain of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History; William C. Askew and Ward Morton of the University of Arkansas; Gerald Forbes of Northeastern (Oklahoma) State College.

At Louisiana State University, Isaac J. Cox, professor emeritus of history at Northwestern University, has been appointed visiting professor of history, and Carl B. Cone, formerly of the University of Iowa, and Miletus L. Flaningam, Jr., formerly of the University of Illinois, have been named assistant professors of history.

Under a new plan at the University of Oklahoma providing for rotating departmental chairmanships, Carl C. Rister has been named chairman of the department of history for a three-year term. Edward E. Dale, head of the department since 1924, has been made graduate professor of history and director of the Frank Phillips Collection of Western Americana.

Walter B. Posey, professor of history and head of the department at Birmingham-Southern College, has accepted an appointment as professor of history and head of the department at Agnes Scott College. He will assume the duties of his new position in September. During the current year J. Harvey Young and Bingham Duncan of Emory University are serving as supply instructors in history at Agnes Scott College.

Charles E. Cauthen has resigned from his position as professor of history at Columbia College, South Carolina, to become professor of history at Wofford College, effective March 25, 1943.

J. Wesley Hoffman has been named acting head of the department of history

at the University of Tennessee during the absence of Jennings B. Sanders who is now in military service.

William F. English has been appointed assistant professor of history at the University of Missouri, and will serve, also, as the director of the Western Historical Manuscripts Collection which has recently been established with the aid of a substantial grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. In the latter capacity he will undertake to canvass the older Missouri families, business houses, and professional and social organizations, in an effort to locate valuable manuscripts relating to Missouri in particular and the West in general.

Angus Laird has been promoted to the rank of associate professor of history and political science at the University of Florida. Rembert W. Patrick, professor of history at the same institution, has been appointed managing editor of the *Journal of Politics*, succeeding Manning J. Dauer, who is now in the service with the Army Air Forces.

The sixth annual series of the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, sponsored by the graduate school and the department of history of Louisiana State University, was delivered at Baton Rouge on February 15, 16, and 17, 1943, by Bell I. Wiley, professor of history and head of the department in the University of Mississippi. The general title of the series was "The Plain People of the Confederacy," and the individual lectures were on "The Common Soldiers," "The Folk at Home," "Johnny Reb Writes a Letter," and "The Colored Folk."

Recent changes in the staff of The National Archives include the transfer of Dallas D. Irvine from chief of the Division of War Department Archives to the position of assistant to the Archivist; Edward G. Campbell to the position of chief of the Division of War Department Archives; Robert H. Bahmer to chief of the Division of Navy Department Archives; and the appointment of Richard G. Wood, Eleanor Ross, Jesse E. Boell, Forrest L. Foor, Guy A. Lee, and James R. Masterson to positions on the staff. Other personnel changes include the resignation of Ralph G. Lounsbury, the granting of a leave of absence to Nelson M. Blake, and the transfer of Everett O. Alldredge and Edwin P. Bledsoe for war work in other agencies. Among members of the staff who have recently entered the armed services are: Paul L. Bishop, Collas G. Harris, Arthur E. Kimberly, Frank D. McAlister, Thornton W. Mitchell, John F. Simmons, Maxcy R. Dickson, Herman R. Friis, William E. Keegan, John R. Kennedy, William B. Rapley, and Charles L. Stewart.

Elmer D. Johnson, who was appointed in October to serve as collector of war records for the North Carolina Historical Commission, has resigned this position to enter war work in Washington. Miss Charlie Huss has been appointed to succeed him in the work of collecting war records.

Charlotte Capers, who has been serving as research and editorial assistant in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, has been named to serve as acting director during the absence of William D. McCain, who has been granted a leave of absence for army service.

An Advisory Committee on Records of War Administration has been appointed by the director of the Bureau of the Budget to provide for more systematic and objective recording of the present experience in war administration and to encourage the maintenance of more adequate records by government agencies administering war activities. Waldo G. Leland, director of the American Council of Learned Societies, has been named as chairman of this committee, and the membership includes Arthur M. Schlesinger, president of the American Historical Association; Louis Brownlow, president of the American Society for Public Administration; William Anderson, president of the American Political Science Association; Solon J. Buck, Archivist of the United States; and Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress. The work is being carried on within the Bureau of the Budget under the direction of Pendleton Herring, secretary of the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard University.

In September, 1942, a Historical Branch was established in the Office of the Assistant Chief of Air Staff, A-2 (Intelligence), Headquarters, United States Army Air Forces. Its duties are to direct, co-ordinate, and prepare for publication unit histories of the AAF; to assemble a critical catalog of AAF historical sources, both published and manuscript; to appraise the current and noncurrent records of the AAF as to their ultimate usefulness for further historical research; and to make its historical studies and materials available to the Staff offices and personnel of the AAF and eventually (subject to A-2 restrictions) to other government agencies, private scholars, and the general public. In short, the aims are to gather materials for a permanent record and to prepare a history of all activities, functions, and units of the AAF, administrative as well as operational. Included in the branch are units dealing with administrative history, operational history, biography, popular narrative, archives, and special projects.

Among the personnel of the Historical Branch are: Colonel Clarence B. Lober, Chief; Major Clanton W. Williams, formerly of the University of Alabama, Technical Executive; Colonel Hans C. Adamson, Lieutenant Colonel Falk Harmel, and Major Ernest L. Jones, all Air Corps historical writers; and various civilian historians and archivists, including Dr. Ben R. Baldwin, Dr. Chase C. Mooney, Dr. Robert L. Thompson, Dr. Martin P. Claussen, and Dr. Joseph Reither. Enlisted men with professional historical training are Sergeant J. Merton England and Officer Candidates Earl F. Cruickshank and Harold J. Bingham. Historical officers are in process of being assigned to each of the air forces in the continental United States as well as in the theaters of operations overseas. In

addition, there are historical officers in each of the staff offices, directorates, and commands.

Albert Virgil Goodpasture, for several years the editor of the *American Historical Magazine*, published at Nashville early in the present century under the auspices of the Tennessee Historical Society, died on December 3, 1942, at the age of 87. In addition to his editorial activity he was the co-author with William R. Garrett of *A History of Tennessee*, published in 1900; and more than a score of scholarly articles on various phases of Tennessee history were published by him in historical periodicals. His study of "Indian Wars and Warriors of the Old Southwest," which appeared serially in the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* in 1918, is still recognized as the most satisfactory available treatment of the Indian problems of the Tennessee country during the closing years of the eighteenth century.

Eugene Irving McCormac, a member of the department of history at the University of California since 1910, died at his home in Berkeley, on January 10, 1943, at the age of 70. He is best known to students of southern history for his *James K. Polk: A Political Biography*, published in 1922, and he had previously published *White Servitude in Maryland* (1904), and *Colonial Opposition to Imperial Authority during the French and Indian War* (1911).

Father Raymond Corrigan, S.J., for the past twelve years professor of history and head of the department at St. Louis University, died on January 19, at the age of 54. He was serving as editor of the *Historical Bulletin* at the time of his death, and had been a member of the editorial staff of the *Catholic Historical Review* and of *Mid-America*. Although his principal research activities were in the field of Church history, he maintained an active membership in the Southern Historical Association and was a frequent attendant at its annual meetings.

Harvey Toliver Cook, professor emeritus of Greek at Furman University, veteran of the Civil War, and historian, died at Greenville, South Carolina, on February 8, at the age of 94. He was the author of several books and pamphlets dealing with the history of South Carolina, among which *The Life and Legacy of David Rogerson Williams* (1916), *The Hard Labor Section* (1924), and *Rambles in the Pee Dee Basin* (1926), deserve special attention.

The first casualty of the war among the membership of the Southern Historical Association was the death, on March 10, 1943, of Lieutenant William DuBose Sheldon, U.S.N.R., from illness contracted in service at Guadalcanal and other South Pacific posts. Lieutenant Sheldon was a graduate of Princeton University and of the Harvard Law School, and before going into service as an air combat intelligence officer was on the staff of the law firm of Covington, Burling, Rublee, Acheson & Shorb, of Washington, D. C. The *Washington Post* of March 25, 1943, published a rather unusual tribute to his character and ability in the form

of a letter to the editor from Justice Felix Frankfurter. Lieutenant Sheldon's interest in southern history began during his undergraduate career at Princeton and his senior thesis was published under the title, *Populism in the Old Dominion; Virginia Farm Politics, 1885-1900*, by the Princeton University Press in 1935.

#### HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

By an act of the North Carolina legislature, ratified in February, the name of the North Carolina Historical Commission was changed to "The State Department of Archives and History." The department's appropriation for the 1943-1945 biennium is approximately \$54,000 as compared with \$46,000 for the 1941-1943 biennium. A graduated salary increase for all state employees now receiving not more than \$4,500 has been provided, effective January 1, 1943.

The Maryland Historical Society at its meeting of February 8, 1943, re-elected its entire roster of officers as follows: Senator George L. Radcliffe, president, J. Hall Pleasants, Laurence Hall Fowler, and J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul, vice-presidents, William B. Marye, corresponding secretary, W. Hall Harris, Jr., recording secretary, and Heyward E. Boyce, treasurer. At this meeting Josephine M. Fisher of Bryn Mawr College gave an address on "Bennett Allen, the Fighting Parson." The emphasis of the March and April meetings of the Society was turned toward considerations of present-day problems, with Under-Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson addressing the March meeting on "Present Problems in Military Policy," and Senator Millard E. Tydings discussing the topic, "History in the Making," at the April meeting.

The committee appointed by the American Historical Association to award the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize for 1943 announces that all entries in competition for this prize must be submitted to the chairman of the committee, Professor L. G. Vander Velde, 118 Haven Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, prior to June 1, 1943. The amount of the prize is \$200, and the terms of the competition as defined by the Association specify that: "In awarding these prizes, the committee in charge will consider not only research and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and general excellence of style. These prizes are designed particularly to encourage those who have not published previously any considerable work nor obtained an established reputation." The entries may include both unpublished manuscripts which are ready for publication in book form and printed works; but only those printed works whose date of publication falls between December 1, 1940, and June 1, 1943, can be considered for the 1943 prize. The name of the winner will be announced at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in December, 1943.

The Oklahoma Historical Society is continuing its program of collecting records and historical materials on the history of the state. At present special attention is being given to co-operation with the county and local historical societies of the state in a plan for gathering data regarding the men and women who are now in war service.

Among the recent programs of the Trinity College Historical Society of Duke University have been the following: James W. Patton of North Carolina State College spoke on January 19 on "The History of the Republican Party in South Carolina." At the February meeting, Maude H. Woodfin of the University of Richmond presented a paper entitled "A Biography of the Historiography of William Byrd of Westover."

The Columbia Historical Society has elected the following officers for the year 1943: Allen C. Clark, president, Fred A. Emery and Wade H. Ellis, vice-presidents, Victor B. Deber, treasurer, Newman F. McGirr, secretary and curator, and John C. Proctor, chronicler. At the January meeting of the society, Judge William E. Richardson of the Municipal Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, presented a detailed account of surviving colonial homes in the West River area of Maryland near Annapolis. The program of the February meeting was an address by Gibbs Myers on "Pioneers in the Federal Area."

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

Among the recent acquisitions of the Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, are several collections of special interest to the student of the history of the lower Mississippi Valley. The J. N. Evans Collection of more than 2000 items contains valuable material of the period 1800-1830 and emphasizes the Burr Conspiracy, the Napoleonic period in Europe, and the effect of the War of 1812 on the southern cotton planter. Later papers in the collection are of the Civil War and Reconstruction period.

The department has also acquired the letters and papers of Benjamin F. Flanders, reconstruction governor of Louisiana and agent of the United States Treasury Department for that district. These papers furnish an interesting insight into reconstruction politics in Louisiana.

A collection of the papers of the James A. Gillespie family, plantation owners of Mississippi, is a valuable source for the study of plantation life.

Since the closing of the Work Projects Administration's Historical Records Survey project in Louisiana, the Department of Archives has become the depository for its library, publications, and records.

The Western Historical Manuscripts Collection at the University of Missouri reports the inauguration of its program of collecting historical records with the following acquisitions during the past few weeks: three mercantile record books

of John Yates & Company, of Fulton, Missouri, running from 1829 to 1831; letter of Andrew Jackson to John C. Breckinridge written in 1845; series of business letters of Augustus Murphy, pioneer farmer of Callaway County, Missouri, written in the 1830's; series of letters of Duncan C. and James R. Milner, soldiers with Sherman during the Civil War, written to members of the family; Civil War letters of Confederate Captain Archie Perkins from Johnson Island Prison to his family; old law books of Peyton C. Hayden of Boonville, Missouri, pioneer lawyer; business records of Otterville College Association 1885-1908; diary of Mrs. Paulina Stratton of Boonville, for the years 1846, 1853, 1857, 1861, 1863, 1866, 1868-1869.

The University of Kentucky has recently obtained on an extended loan the papers of Captain Thomas H. Hines, which throw new light on the activities of the Confederates in Canada.

The Frank Phillips Collection of Western Americana, at the University of Oklahoma, has recently added to its shelves one hundred and twenty bound volumes of reminiscences of early Oklahoma pioneers. The material in these volumes was collected and prepared by the Indian-Pioneer Work Project, which was set up under the joint direction of the Oklahoma Historical Society and the University of Oklahoma, and which employed some seventy-five workers over a period of more than a year. A duplicate set of the volumes is in the library of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

A significant addition to the large body of naval records in The National Archives was made recently by the transfer of many of the files assembled by the Office of Naval Records and Library, Navy Department. Although there are a few records relating to the Revolutionary War among them, most of them cover the period 1798-1910. They comprise the central files of the Department up to 1842, when the bureau system was inaugurated; for the period subsequent to that, they consist of a selection from the bureau files of outstanding records relating to operations and of policy documents relating to logistics. Among them are letter books of the Navy Commissioners and other officials, muster rolls, squadron reports, diaries, minutes and journals, records of the Confederate Navy, ship records, and records relating to privateers, prizes, claims, and courts martial. Practically all the federal archival sources for the study of the United States naval history to 1911 are now concentrated in The National Archives.

Records relating to military affairs have been further increased by the receipt of the records of the Office of the Chief of the Chemical Warfare Service, 1918-1940; the records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, 1894-1923, completing the files of that Office in The National Archives from 1800 to 1923; and the central files of the Office of the Chief Signal Officer, 1886-1942. The last named was the only major War Department bureau that had not previously transferred the main body of its noncurrent records to The National Archives.

Other recent accessions of importance include records of a number of Justice Department offices, 1853-1938, including those of the Pardon Attorney, the Claims Division, the Appointment Clerk's Office, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the United States Commerce Court (1910-1913); Forest Service records relating to the early conservation and forestry movement, 1882-1906; State Department records consisting of consular and diplomatic notes, despatches, and instructions, 1906-1910, and treaties and statutes completing these two series in The National Archives to 1932 and 1941, respectively; and the general files of the Chief Clerk of the Labor Department, 1913-1942.

The *Eighth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States* (Washington, 1943, pp. 92), covering the activities of The National Archives for the fiscal year 1941-1942, states that, "Largely as a result of the pressure for space in Government buildings, the quantity of records having permanent value that were transferred to The National Archives during the year amounted to nearly 50 per cent of the quantity of all records previously transferred." A descriptive list of the records received appears as an appendix. The *Report* also discusses the records administration program, which aims at the better care of record material in the agencies creating it, particularly in the many new war agencies, to the end that an adequate record of the experience of the Government and people of the United States may be preserved.

Among other recent publications of this agency are: *Preliminary Inventory of the Council of National Defense Records, 1916-1921*, presented in accordance with its policy of providing preliminary guides to records of importance in relation to the present war effort; and a "Miscellaneous Processed Document" entitled, *The Problem of Federal Field Office Records*, which consists of four papers read before the opening session of the sixth annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists in Richmond, Virginia, on October 26, 1942. These four papers are: "Planning a Permanent Program for Federal Records in the States," by Oliver W. Holmes, director of the Division of Research and Records Description, The National Archives; "The Interests of the States in Federal Field Office Records," by William D. McCain, director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History; "Army Field Records," by Jesse S. Douglas, of the Office of the Director of Records, Adjutant General's Office; and "The Need for Regional Depositories for Federal Records," by Richard B. Morris, of the College of the City of New York.

*More News from Virginia: A Further Account of Bacon's Rebellion* (Published by the Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, March 16, 1943), is a facsimile reproduction of the only surviving copy of a pamphlet printed by William Harris in London in 1677 as a sequel to the better known *Strange News from Virginia*, printed earlier in the same year by the same printer. The nature of the additional news is shown in the sub-title



of the original pamphlet, which reads: "Being a True and Full Relation of all Occurrences in that Countrey, since the Death of Nath. Bacon, with an Account of thirteen Persons that have been tryed and Executed for their Rebellion there." A brief historical essay by Thomas P. Abernethy on both the rebellion and the pamphlet provides an adequate introduction to this reprint.

*Lee Mansion, Arlington, Virginia* (New York: Hastings House, 1943, pp. 56, \$1.25), by Randle Bond Truett, presents a handsomely illustrated historical survey of the home of General Robert E. Lee.

The Committee on Research of Emory University has recently begun the publication of a series called *Emory Sources & Reprints*, "designed to make available a selection of the rare and unique materials in the Emory Library's collection." Each title is to be edited by a member of the Emory University faculty and printed as a brochure. The first of these titles, published early in April, is "Letters of General J. E. B. Stuart to His Wife—1861," edited by Bingham Duncan. It presents a group of fourteen letters, all but one of which are drawn from the Keith M. Read Confederate Collection, and none of which has previously been printed.

*Early Charlottesville: Recollections of James Alexander, 1826-1874*, is a description of Charlottesville, Virginia, by a local printer and publisher, whose recollections were first published in the Charlottesville *Jeffersonian Republican*. The memoir has been edited by Mary Rawlings, and distributed by the Peoples National Bank of Charlottesville.

*Six Twenty, Margaretta Hunt, and the Baker-Hunt Foundation* (Covington: The Baker-Hunt Foundation, 1942, pp. x, 131), by Harry R. Stevens, not only traces the evolution of the Baker-Hunt Foundation, 620 Greenup Street, Covington, Kentucky, as the promoter of civic and cultural advancement for its community, but in describing the activities, the personalities, and the family backgrounds of those responsible for the establishment of the Foundation it also throws much light upon more than a century of Covington's local history.

*The Challenge to Democracy* is the title of a series of eight pamphlets prepared by members of the department of history and government of Iowa State College and published by the College. The purpose of the series is "to show what produced the present situation and suggest some of the things that need to be done about it—not by farm people alone but by rural America and urban America working together." Among the topics considered are: "The Family Farm in the Machine Age," by Louis B. Schmidt; "The Test of Citizenship," by V. Alton Moody; "Democracy and Nationalism," by Clarence H. Matterson; "Toward a New Rural Statesmanship," by Earle D. Ross; and "The Machine and Democracy," by Charles H. Norby.

*Farm Management in the South* (Danville, Ill., Interstate Printers and Publishers, 1942, pp. 566, illustrations, \$2.25), by Robert L. Hunt, is a practical handbook or text on farm management designed for use in courses in agriculture. Although it gives no attention to historical developments, it should prove helpful to future historians who may need a comprehensive picture of the status of agricultural conditions and planning in the South of the present generation.

*General Griffith Rutherford and Allied Families* (Milwaukee: Cuneo Press, 1942, pp. xi, 194), by Minnie R. H. Long, is a carefully prepared genealogical record of a North Carolina leader in the American Revolution whose family later played an important part in the early development of Tennessee.

*The First Hundred Years: Roanoke College, 1842-1942* (Salem, Va.: Trustees of Roanoke College, 1942, pp. 511), by William E. Eisenberg, presents a full and trustworthy account of men and events connected with the history of the College since its founding. It is written with emphasis on reader interest, and should be especially interesting to students and alumni of Roanoke College and residents of the community.

*Literary Memphis; A Survey of Its Writers and Writings* (Memphis: The West Tennessee Historical Society, 1942, pp. 233), by Marshall Wingfield, is a compilation of the names of those writers "who had residence in Memphis long enough to be regarded as citizens of the city," and those who wrote about Memphis. Many of these names are accompanied by short biographical sketches together with the titles of their writings.

*The Interpretation of History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943, pp. 186, \$2.50), edited with an introduction by Joseph R. Strayer, should be of value to every serious student of history, regardless of his field of interest. It presents five essays by well known historians who received their original historical training in France, Germany, England, Italy, and the United States. In "History, Popular and Unpopular," Jacques Barzun is concerned with the question of the gap between scholarly history and the history which is remembered and used by the average citizen. In "The Science of History," Hajo Holborn illustrates his concept by describing the principles which inspired Thucydides and Leopold von Ranke and the values which they found in their work. In "The Economic Impact on History," Herbert Heaton discusses the effect of economic interpretation upon the work of historians and warns against the over-emphasizing of any single aspect of social activity. In "Biography and History," Dumas Malone stresses "the danger of drowning individual achievements in a foggy sea of social forces," and discusses the obstacles which make biography one of the most difficult forms of historical writing. In "Theology of History," George La Piana deals with the danger of trying to fit history to a pattern imposed by non-historical beliefs. In the closing sentence of his stimulating intro-

ductory essay, Professor Strayer suggests the unifying theme of the book: "They all feel that history is a humanizing, if not necessarily a humanistic study, that when it is properly treated it can enable us to act more intelligently in the world of today, but that unless it is written with wisdom and understanding, honesty and sympathy, imagination and insight, it will be of no avail."

## ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

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## CONTRIBUTORS

ALBERT B. MOORE, the president of the Southern Historical Association in 1942, is professor of history and dean of the graduate school at the University of Alabama.

GEORGE L. ANDERSON is associate professor of history at Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

JUDSON C. WARD, JR., formerly instructor in history at Birmingham-Southern College, is now a lieutenant in the Field Artillery.

JOHN W. HIGHAM was a graduate student in history at the University of Wisconsin until his induction into the Army in April.

JOHN D. CARTER, formerly a graduate student in history at the University of California at Berkeley, is now a lieutenant in the Army Air Forces.

CLEMENT EATON is professor of history at Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania.

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